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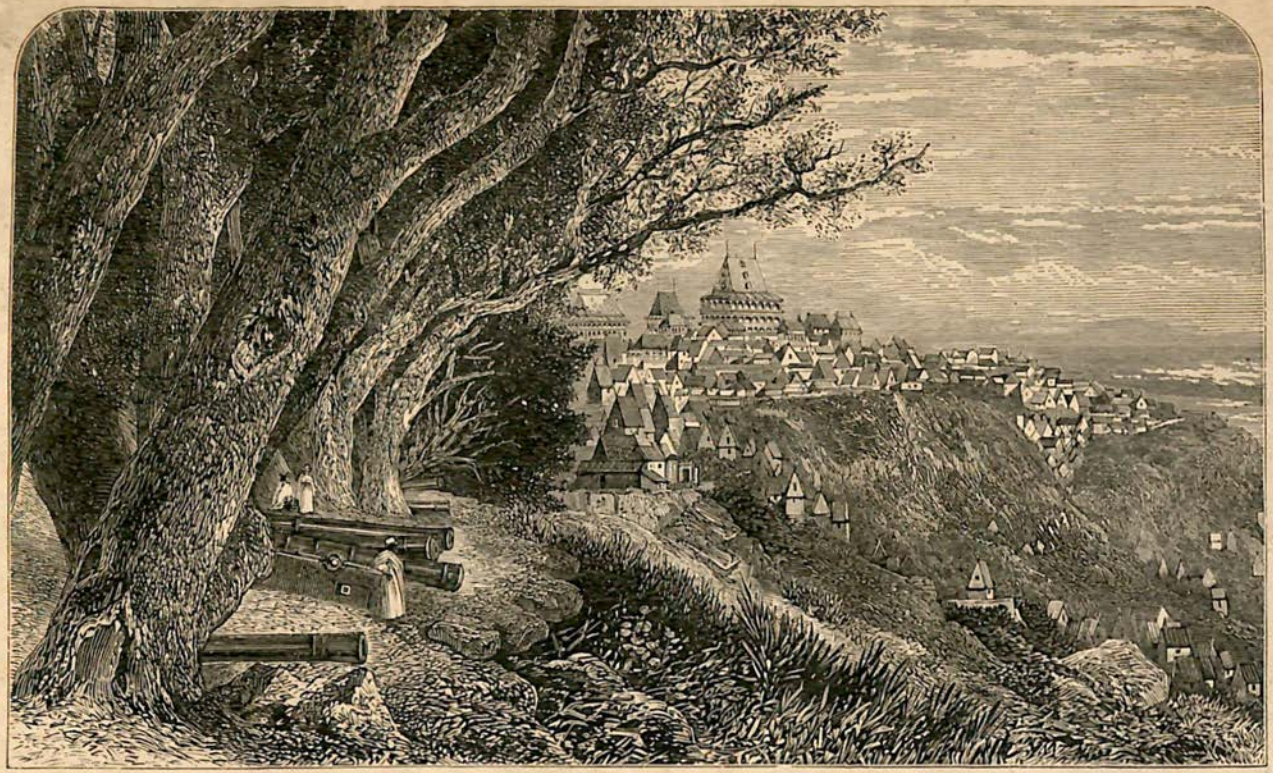
MADAGASCAR REVISITED.



Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis. The Tarpeian Rock. Frontispiece.

VIEW OF THE CITY FROM THE BATTERY AT AMBODINANDOHALO.

MADAGASCAR REVISITED

DESCRIBING

THE EVENTS OF A NEW REIGN AND THE REVOLUTION WHICH FOLLOWED;

SETTING FORTH ALSO

THE PERSECUTIONS ENDURED BY THE CHRISTIANS, AND THEIR HEROIC SUFFERINGS, WITH NOTICES OF THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE PEOPLE.

BY REV. WILLIAM ELLIS,

AUTHOR OF "POLYNESIAN RESEARCHES," "THREE VISITS TO MADAGASCAR," ETC.

60774

"Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, from her friendship for Her Britannic Majesty, promises to grant full religious liberty to all her subjects."

Treaty between England and Madagascar, June 27, 1865.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1867.

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TO

THE QUEEN,

This Volume,

DESCRIBING A PEOPLE WHO REGARD HER MAJESTY WITH GRATEFUL ESTEEM,

IS,

BY SPECIAL PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

HER MAJESTY'S MOST DUTIFUL AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

My former visits to Madagascar were visits of observation and inquiry, which the government of that day restricted to the narrowest possible limits, and over which they exercised the strictest surveillance. I could hold no intercourse with the Christians without danger of inconvenience to myself, and more imminent peril to them; and I had few opportunities for observing much beyond the aspects of nature, the productions of the country, or the more common usages of the people. My last visit, which was also my longest residence, was one of action, my business was with the people, and left me no time or opportunity for anything besides; but though I added little to my knowledge of the botanical or other treasures of the country, I became much better acquainted with its inhabitants, especially with the numbers, character, rank, and influence of the Christians, as well as with the progress of the Gospel in Madagascar. My mission was to explain to the sovereign, and the heads of the people, the object of the London Missionary Society in sending out missionaries to resume the work which had been so long interrupted, and to make the requisite preparations for the expected teachers.

The prosecution of this important, and, to me, delightful work, brought me into communication with all classes of the people, and afforded many opportunities for observing the operation of those agencies which produced the great changes that followed the dawn of Christian liberty in the land. The contact, and often conflict between the antagonistic elements of native society during that period—between truth and error, virtue and vice, Christianity and heathenism—the one based solely on the true and lasting foundation, the Word of God, and attested by the faith in life and the hope in death of successive generations of men; the other resting on the puerile traditions of a bygone age, accredited by visions, dreams, and imagined voices from the invisible world, were to me profoundly interesting, and often stirred my spirit to its utmost depths.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to narrate, in the plainest manner, the course of events in Madagascar during my residence there, and any interest the narrative may inspire will be a human interest, such as can only arise from contemplating the movements of an infant nation during those periods which can occur but once in its existence, when the Divine light of Christian truth first breaks upon the understandings of the people, and the germs of liberty are first lodged in their hearts.

I have described the recent events which I have witnessed in Madagascar in the order in which they occurred, simultaneously with the narrative of my own proceedings as affected by them, rather than in the form of an abstract account, as

more likely to render them clear and acceptable, and shall be gratified if the testimony I am able to bear should become the means of exciting deeper concern for the welfare of Madagascar, and more fervent prayer for the progress of Christianity among its numerous inhabitants.

ROSE HILL, HODDESDON,
January, 1867.

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"	181, "	8	"	"	" "right"	"	"left."
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"	373, "	14	"	bottom,	" "lead"	"	"led."
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MADAGASCAR REVISITED.

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In the autumn of 1861, letters from Mauritius and Madagascar brought to England tidings of the death of Ranavalo, queen of Madagascar, and of the accession of her son to the throne. The former of these events had been contemplated by all who were interested in the welfare of that country as one which, whenever in the ordinary course of nature it should occur, would diminish, if not terminate, the oppression, cruelty, and fearful destruction of human life which had long afflicted that unhappy land, and had excited the profound commiseration of all civilized communities.

The humane disposition of the young prince who had now succeeded to the throne, his innate abhorrence of cruelty and bloodshed, his liberal views in relation to intercourse with other

nations, his strong and deeply-seated patriotism, his compassionate conduct towards the Christians in their severe and protracted sufferings, his bold and fearless condemnation of bigotry and persecution, whether heathen or Christian, had caused his elevation to the throne to be regarded, not merely by the Hovas, but by the other races in the country, as the dawn of a brighter day for Madagascar. By foreigners, also, it was hailed as opening the way for future intercourse which it was hoped would prove beneficial to Madagascar, and favourable to the extension of Christianity and civilization in the world.

Simultaneously with the arrival of the above intelligence, communications from the Christians at the capital announced the cessation of persecution and the perfect freedom of religious worship, with a request from the young king that I would proceed to Madagascar, and their own earnest desire for the return of the missionaries.

The London Missionary Society could not hesitate a moment as to the response it should give to this call. It was not a new field which favourable circumstances now for the first time invited its missionaries to enter, but one on which more than forty years before they had commenced their labours, and in which the most difficult parts of the preparation had been accomplished. The spoken language of the people had been acquired by the missionaries, and in return, that language in a written form had been given to the people,—thousands had been taught to read in their own tongue the sacred Scriptures which the missionaries had translated for them. The most useful arts of civilized life had been, at great expense and on a large scale, taught to the people. The Gospel had been preached, and the first-fruits of Madagascar unto Christ were being gathered in, when the cruel and vindictive paganism of the country, alarmed for its prestige and its power, declared that no other faith should ever live in Madagascar. The missionaries were obliged to leave, the schools were closed, the profession of Christian faith and the practice of Christian

worship were forbidden, and persistence in either was punished with death.

For five and twenty years the Christians, still increasing, had endured the fiercest persecution. Thousands had suffered bonds, torture, and slavery, and numbers of the best men in the country had been put to death, while others had survived in exile or concealment. The London Missionary Society had not forsaken them during this long night of sorrow and of trial. Twice I had been sent to express sympathy and to convey encouragement to the suffering Christians in Madagascar; and now, when the hand of persecution had become powerless in death, when liberty of worship was proclaimed, and in God's wise Providence free course given to the Gospel, the Society hastened to obey the call, and renew their long-interrupted labours.

The London Missionary Society, under these considerations, applied to me to go out again to Madagascar to prepare for resuming their mission in that island, and I embarked at Southampton on the 20th of November, 1861. The *Pera*, in which I sailed, was a splendid vessel, and as I found several friends on board, and others joined us at Malta, the voyage to Alexandria was unusually pleasant.

From Suez our party in the *Norna* was increased by passengers from Marseilles, among whom were a number of French residents at Mauritius and six French priests, with several assistants—some of them said to be on their way to Madagascar. A French officer, M. Le Baron de Brossard Corbény, charged with presents from the Emperor of the French to the King of Madagascar, was also a fellow-passenger with us. We occasionally chatted together, and the Abbés were sometimes within hearing when we held our Sunday service on the deck. On the other hand, when their service was held in the cabin on Sunday morning, the table which the priests used for an altar stood so near the door of my cabin that I was sometimes a prisoner during the whole time of their worship.

The attentions of Captain Bain contributed much to the pleasure of the voyage, and when, on the 27th of December, we reached Port Louis, the welcome I received soon convinced me that Mauritius had lost none of its generous hospitality.

The vague but strange rumours about Madagascar which I had heard before leaving England, or in the ports at which we had touched on our way, proved—as most of the same kind have subsequently done—entirely unfounded. There was no civil war in Madagascar. The king had not become a Roman Catholic. M. Lambert was not Prime Minister of the kingdom, and the Christians had not placed themselves under the teaching and guidance of the priests.

When the king, a short time previously, had officially informed the Governor of Mauritius of his accession to the throne and of his wish to maintain friendly relations with foreign countries, Sir William Stevenson, with that promptitude and judgment which characterized his administration, despatched a special mission to the new sovereign with a letter of congratulation and friendship, and sent also a number of valuable presents, including two riding horses for the king. This timely communication from the governor, together with the honourable deportment and judicious counsel of Colonel Middleton and his companions who were the bearers of the message, proved most welcome and assuring to the king and to his people; and the report of the mission on its return encouraged the hope of more intimate and mutually beneficial intercourse between Mauritius and Madagascar.*

* The members of this mission, after speaking, in the official report presented to the governor on their return, of the gratification which the visit of the English appeared to afford to the people in the country, and at the capital, observe—"We need not seek far for an explanation of this feeling. The missionary work, initiated thirty years ago, will sufficiently account for it. Nearly all the arts with which the people are acquainted were taught them by the missionaries, and your Excellency would see with astonishment with what patience their workmen carry out any given task, and often with implements ill-fitted for it. Their iron work deserves the highest praise."—*Report of the Mission to the Capital of Madagascar—Mauritius, Nov.* 1861.

On my arrival at Mauritius, I had found letters from the king and the chief officers of the Government of Madagascar, as well as from the Christians, expressing their earnest desire to see me again amongst them. The Rev. Mr. Le Brun, who returned soon afterwards from a visit to the capital, also informed me that the Christians were waiting for my arrival in order that I might advise them in respect to their own proceedings, and the best means of extending the Gospel under their altered and encouraging circumstances; but the fever then rife in the region between the coast and the high lands of the interior, rendered it unsafe for me to proceed at the time to the capital. I therefore entered into correspondence with the Christians, and considering that one great want of their growing numbers would be places of worship, if substantial buildings for this purpose could be erected on the spots on which the Christians had died for their faith, that buildings for Christian worship would thus be provided, and that lasting memorials of the power of the Gospel and the constancy of the martyrs would be raised which would prove a means of strengthening the faith and quickening the love and zeal of future generations. In order to prevent the appropriation of the ground to other purposes, I wrote and sent a Christian messenger to the king with my letters, asking him to reserve the places in which the Christians had suffered for their religion to be used as sites for Christian Churches and memorials of the martyrs who had died there. In due time the messengers returned with letters from the king and the Government, expressing their pleasure at the prospect of my arrival, and assuring me that the spots of ground which I had specified should be preserved for the sacred purpose I had mentioned.

On this occasion I also received welcome evidence that, although during the late reign all Christian teaching had been sternly repressed, additional means had now been provided for its extension under existing and more favourable auspices.

The Government, when it had closed the missionary schools, had been fully sensible of the benefits of education; they considered it as belonging to Christianity, and never attempted to use it in furtherance of their superstition or idolatry; but for the purposes of government it was justly classed amongst the most valuable acquisitions derived from the white man. Hence the Government, then wholly heathen, had been willing to encourage education if it could only be separated from every particle of Christianity, and its advantages confined to themselves.*

During the reign of Ranavalo, the prince, her son, and a number of young nobles, officers of rank, had been taught English by Rahaniraka, the queen's secretary, who had himself been educated in England. Three of these officers had compiled a Malagasy and English Vocabulary of nearly 300 small octavo pages, comprising words and illustrative sentences in both languages; and now that the king had, even before the arrival of Col. Middleton's mission, opened a school for teaching Malagasy and English, and desired that all classes should partake of the benefits of education, these young officers sent their manuscript vocabulary to me at Mauritius to have it printed. It was neatly and correctly written; and, gladly receiving it as one of the first germs of a native literature, I sent it to the London Missionary Society to be printed and returned to Madagascar.

By the conveyance which brought my letters, two young Hova officers arrived at Mauritius to seek for a relative who had been brought there as a young slave many years ago. They were also anxious to acquire, if possible, some knowledge of

* With this object in view, orders had been given to the Custom House officers at Tamatave, if not elsewhere, to search all packages for books, and if they found books with reading or lines running across the page, to refuse or destroy them; but if the reading or words were ranged in columns from the top to the bottom of the page then to admit them, as they supposed all such were spelling-books, and might be used without fear of their disseminating Christianity.

the English language. Both were Christians, and were most cordially welcomed by their Christian countrymen in Mauritius. While detained here the English armed ship *Orestes* arrived, and Captain Allan Gardner, who had invited us on board, took these young Malagasy officers, much to their delight, over the ship. They had never seen a steamer before, only one had ever been to Madagascar, and the engine-room of the *Orestes* seemed to fill them with wonder. But the greatest marvel was the breech-loading Armstrong gun. They examined its several parts, its arrangements for loading, sighting, and firing, and exchanged looks of mysterious awe, a feeling not diminished when they attempted to lift one of the flat-ended 100lb. shot from the deck. This visit to the ship was the great event of their voyage to Mauritius, and the wonder of the report which they carried home to their countrymen.

At length the season having become favourable for passing through the fever district of Madagascar, I embarked on the 17th of May, 1862, in the *Jessie Byrne*, in which, through the kindness of G. Ireland, Esq., of the firm of Ireland, Frazer, and Co., for whose hospitality and kindness I must ever feel indebted, the owners had generously given me a passage. The two young officers, a number of traders, a German naturalist, and several Malagasy exiles returning to their native land, were my companions.

With the morning of the 22nd of May, the lofty interior mountains of Madagascar, stretching to the north and extending far to the west, their summits irradiated by the beams of the rising sun, appeared above the long line of white mist and cloud which seemed to rest upon the horizon; and soon after noon on the same day we entered the small harbour of Tamatave, where RADAMA II., in bright scarlet letters on the white flag floating over the battery at the north end of the bay, was the welcome confirmation of the tidings which had brought me again to Madagascar.

In the first boat from the shore, several Christians came on

board to bid me welcome, to inform me that messengers from the king were on shore waiting to conduct me to the capital, and to propose that on landing we should proceed to the house of prayer to render thanks to God for the joyfully altered circumstances under which we met. They then hastened back to tell their friends that I had really come.

Towards evening I left the ship. A crowd had already gathered on the landing place, and as I stepped on the beach two officers came forward to meet me, one an A.D.C. of the king, and an officer of the palace, the other sent by the local authorities to bid me welcome. After mutual salutations, for we were not strangers, the officer presented a letter from the secretary of the king stating that he wished me to proceed without delay to the capital, and had sent the bearer to accompany me.

While I was reading the letter, the officer from the fort bade me welcome in the name of the local authorities of the place, adding that the governor had ordered accommodations to be provided for me. The elder of the two young Hovas acknowledged their welcome with the customary expressions of loyalty to the sovereign, and then he introduced me to his sister, who had been waiting for our landing. The multitude, in the meantime had closed around us, and after many cordial greetings from the Christians which seemed strange to me, as on my former visits we had never ventured publicly to recognize each other, I walked through the village to the residence provided for me, and as the preparations for my reception were not quite completed, I accompanied the friend who had been the first to welcome me on board the ship to his own house.

As we drew near I saw his young wife with a child in her arms, and another by her side, standing at the gate of a neat little garden, through which a path, bordered with flowers led to their dwelling. Here I was soon joined by the other Christian friends who filled my heart with gladness by their accounts of the state of the Christians in the country. At

length we sat down to a hospitable supper including fresh sweet bread made in the village, good Irish potatoes, from the neighbourhood of Antanauarivo, and a refreshing cup of tea. At a late hour I retired to a comfortable bed. Next day I was accommodated in a pavilion, or small building, connected with the residence of the chief magistrate, to whose table I was hospitably invited. Presents of poultry, eggs, and rice were brought to me in the course of the day, and in the evening a fine fat ox was sent by the commandant.

In the afternoon I met the Christians in a house given them by the king for a chapel. There were sixty persons present, including the exiles, who had returned with us, some of whom had fled, on account of persecution. After singing and prayer, a Hova officer read the tenth chapter of Romans, offered a few remarks on the verses from the tenth to the fifteenth, and acknowledged in prayer, with much feeling, the goodness of God in thus allowing us to meet in security and peace.

I assured them that the sympathy of the Christians in England was as sincere in their present joy as it had been in their past affliction; and then, after I had also offered a few words of prayer, an aged Hova, from a distant village, spoke of the welcome evidence which my presence afforded of the affection of the Christians in England as a great source of encouragement; after which, he prayed most fervently for Queen Victoria and the English people, especially the Christians whose sympathy had cheered their night of darkness, and now encouraged them in the new day which had dawned upon them. At the close, they sang with an amount of feeling which they do not often manifest, a kind of Jubilee native hymn, which spoke of the exile's and the captive's return. The whole company appeared reluctant to separate. For my own part, when I reflected that on no former occasion had we ventured to meet for reading the Scriptures or prayer, except in the innermost room of my house, and with doors fastened, or at the late hours of night with some of our number watching at the gates, I was

deeply impressed with the importance of this great change, and not surprised at their strongly excited feelings.

At seven that evening I sat down to dinner at the house of the Chief Judge, and as a specimen of a Malagasy chieftain's table, I may mention that our repast comprised soup, fish (excellent mullet), roast meat, with curry and rice, followed by good coffee.*

We had scarcely finished dinner, when an officer hurried into the room exclaiming that the commandant had been frightfully burned by gunpowder, and was being brought to the house in order that I might dress his wounds. In a few minutes four stalwart slaves brought his palanquin into my pavilion and placed it on the floor. The chief, a tall, handsome, middle-aged man, was evidently in great pain. His eyebrows, hair, and beard were singed, his ancles, hands and face burned and blackened by the explosion. A large tin cylinder, containing gunpowder, had been, unknown to him or his servants, left by his predecessor under his bed, and in searching in the place with a candle the powder had exploded and produced the mischief. As I soon saw that but few if any of the wounds were dangerous, I communicated this to his family, requesting all but the wife and two or three attendants to leave the room. Having then fastened the door to keep out the crowd, I took off my coat, turned up my sleeves, put on my spectacles, and washed and dressed the wounds, applying a cooling fluid and wrapping the parts in cotton-wool, pulled out of my mattrass and pillows. On the patient assuring me that the burning pain was alleviated, he was carried back to his own house where he gradually recovered without any scars on his face, but on those parts of his hands, where the skin had been destroyed, the newly-formed

* I have been so frequently asked, since my return to England, what we had to eat in Madagascar, that I hope I may be excused if, for the satisfaction of such enquirers, I describe the details of a repast not otherwise of importance, except as indicating the degree of civilization which different classes of society in Madagascar have attained.

skin was white. Many weeks after, when I saw him at the capital, I noticed that he always wore gloves. Asking his reason for this he pointed to his hands; and when I recollected that similar marks are signs of leprosy, of which the Malagasy are exceedingly afraid, I was not surprised at his desire to conceal the white marks on his hands.

At eight o'clock on the Sunday morning after my arrival, I attended worship at the native church; about one hundred persons were present. At noon I preached in English to the traders understanding that language. At four there was a second native service which closed the public engagements of the day. A generation had nearly passed away since the cessation of religious worship, at which any missionaries had presided, and many now among the Christians, during the long dreary years of repression and persecution had only met on the Lord's day in small numbers, in lonely and concealed places, or at night. As I wished to see how they had lately, under their altered circumstances, initiated the observance of public worship, I had requested them to proceed according to their present usual course. It appeared that two or three men, not the highest in rank amongst them, but men of reputed intelligence and moral worth, were recognised as leaders of their public worship. The people sat in native fashion on mats on the floor, the men on one side and the women on the other, while the leaders of the congregation sat on chairs at one end of the building having a small table before them. The leaders and some of the people stood up to sing, but most of them remained sitting. The leaders stood up to read the Scriptures, but sat down to expound or enforce their teaching. All knelt in prayer, many bowing their heads to the ground where space allowed them to do so; otherwise they continued sitting, bending down their heads and covering their eyes with their hands. After the evening service the Christians asked me to explain to them the proper order of proceeding in public worship. I told them it should be performed with reverence, attention, and sincerity, as unto God

who knows the heart. That it would be well, if space admitted, that all should stand up to sing, and kneel to pray, that the people should sit to hear, and the minister stand to read, preach, and pray.

Signs of the changes which had taken place in Madagascar presented themselves every day. In 1854 I had nearly got into trouble from having, unconscious of any prohibition, turned my camera towards a house standing in the direction of the Battery, which no white man was allowed to approach, and round which, a year before, Mr. Cameron and I had seen, fixed on poles, the blanched skulls of our countrymen and those of the French killed in the latest attack upon the town. These skulls had been placed there to deter foreigners from approaching the place.* Now, two days after our Sunday service, a guard of honour, attended by their band, came to escort my host and myself to a dinner to which I had been invited by the governor in the same battery. I looked as I passed at the place where the poles had been fixed, but all was grassy and level, except where a few flowering acacias, or bright-leaved shrubs were growing.

At the governor's entertainment, which was hospitable and liberal, he said in the course of conversation, "The last order from Radama was, 'send Mr. Ellis as soon as he arrives;' and," he added, "whenever you wish to depart the required assistance will be ready." I accordingly prepared for my journey without loss of time.

I have noticed some of the favourable changes which had taken place since my last visit. Others of a different character forced themselves on my attention. A vague idea of the loose kind of life commonly spent in such a country as Madagascar, the ease with which wealth was supposed to be acquired, the conduct of the king—who had not only invited foreigners to

* Col. Middleton and his companions, sent by the Governor of Mauritius to congratulate the king on his accession, were, I believe, the first Englishmen admitted within the Battery.

settle in the island for trade or other purposes, but had abolished all duty on exports and imports—had caused quite a rush to the country from almost all parts of the world, and something like an inundation of merchandise. Many houses had been built at Tamatave, and others were in course of erection; traders from Europe and from America had increased; Moors and Arabs I had seen there before, but now I noticed a sort of chandler's shop kept by a Chinaman, the first of his race that I had ever seen in the country. As signs of progress, there was a hotel, one or two bakers, who supplied good bread every day, and there was a billiard-table, though, as I was informed, not much frequented by the natives. But there were other sights of a more saddening nature. The unwise and injurious proceeding of the king in abolishing all custom-house duties had stimulated the cupidity of the dealers in spirituous liquors to a fearful extent. Large quantities had, since the change, been brought into the country; no less than 60,000 gallons, according to the statements in the papers having been sent from Mauritius alone during one week before my departure. Drunkenness, violence, theft, and other evil consequences had proportionately increased. Every fourth house in the village was a rum-shop in which, night and day, a number of persons of both sexes might be seen squatting down, or stretched on the floor around a rum-barrel with a tap in the end of it, whence it was retailed to the people. Licentiousness, especially in connection with the shipping, was as unabated, unrestrained, and as sickening and revolting as it had ever been, and increased with the larger amount of shipping in the ports.

The severe and perilous ordeal through which all rude nations have to pass when brought into contact with races of superior civilization appeared to have commenced with unusual violence among the Malagasy; and acting through the destructive influence of the vices I have named, threatened at no distant period to sweep the population of the country from the face of the earth, unless the remedial and healing influence of Chris-

tianity should intervene for their preservation. I felt, indeed, no misgiving as to the sufficiency of the Gospel to save from destruction those who might receive it; but though the kindly feeling manifested towards myself was abundantly encouraging, I was at the same time deeply conscious that notwithstanding all the gratification which kindness and attention towards myself and other missionaries personally might afford, any merely human effort to raise the mass of the people from existing debasement and misery must be hopeless; and I felt that the moral and spiritual culture of the field, to which a way was now opened, would be no easy task, and that only after much toil and trial, and many disappointments, could we expect that the kingdom of Christ would be established in Madagascar.

On the 31st of May I took leave of my kind host and friends at Tamatave, called at the Battery, where the officers and bearers with the packages for the king were waiting, and as the governor still said it was his wish to send an escort and a band with me for the first stage of the journey, I exchanged salutations with him and entered my palanquin. This officer then gave the order to march, the band struck up, and we proceeded to Ivondro, a straggling village nine or ten miles from Tamatave, and the first stage on the road, where we halted for the night.

The next day was Sunday, the 1st of June. The Christians of our company joined in our worship in the forenoon. In the afternoon, finding that six among them were communicants, we united in celebrating the ordinance of the Lord's Supper under novel and interesting circumstances, and with deep and peculiar feelings to myself. It was my first communion with members of the Malagasy church.

As soon as the rain ceased on the following morning we passed, in large canoes,* the south-west angle of the Lake Nosive, and continued our journey between the lakes and the sea to Ande-

* These canoes are, some of them, forty feet long, hollowed out of a single tree, sometimes a sort of calophyllum, imperishable in water.

voranto, an important village in Betanimena, eighty miles or more from Tamatave. We then travelled by water along the beautiful Iharoka, passing Marovato (much rock or stones), a village built upon the first rocks we had seen, and continued our course up the river Alanenana to Maro-omby (many oxen), the farthest point inland to which we could proceed by water.

I have already mentioned the exiles in our company who were returning to their homes. Besides these we often met small parties, generally persons advanced in years, sometimes with their grown-up children, but more frequently aged persons, and such as had been sold into slavery in early life, or had fled from persecution. After the emancipation of slaves in Mauritius, persons of that class who were natives of Madagascar had been afraid to return for fear of being punished for leaving the country; but since the accession of Radama, numbers had come back to visit the scenes of their early life, and to die in the land of their fathers. We met a company of five in the village of Maro-omby. They were respectably dressed, intelligent persons, somewhat advanced in years. They appeared glad to see us, and said they were going farther to the south-west to their own village. They gave me the impression of being very happy, because, as they said, they were in their own country again—the country, they said, was the same, although the people were different. We afterwards met with other similar parties, thus seeking to realise a long-cherished hope of spending the evening of life amidst scenes of youth.

At Maro-omby we left the level country, and soon afterwards ascended the first hill we had met with on our route. The road for the rest of the journey was over a succession of valleys and hills of gradually increasing elevation.

At the village of Manambonitra, where I sate for a long time in the bright evening moonlight talking with the people, I was disturbed after I had retired to rest by the drumming and singing of a number of natives in the neighbourhood, who seemed to have been drinking, and who kept

me awake the greater part of the night. I had noticed with extreme regret that in almost all the villages the number of houses in which spirituous liquors were sold—*rummeries*, as they were called in Tamatave—had greatly increased since my former visits, and had produced a proportional increase of intoxication amongst the people. Sometimes a large portion of the inhabitants of a village at which we halted in the middle of the day, would be found drumming and singing, or lying about in a drunken stupor; but this wild and senseless revelry occurred most frequently in the evening, and was often continued long after midnight. The admission of foreign rum, and the large quantity introduced into the country since the abolition of import duties, had caused this increase of drunkenness amongst the people.

Our second Sunday was passed at Ampasimbe. Two parties of Christians from the capital, on their way to the coast, entered the village in the forenoon, and brought gratifying accounts of those whom they had left. They cheerfully united with us in our religious worship, in which I was assisted by one of their leaders, a pupil of the former missionaries, and a man held in high esteem at the capital. The day so spent was peculiarly refreshing, and the season of rest most welcome to the whole of our party. One of the chiefs from the capital begged so importunately for a copy of the New Testament, that I gave him the only spare copy I had.

At the village of Marozefa I found Ramboasolo, a Christian chief, with whom I had been intimate during former visits, who with his wife and family was on his way to Tamatave. He confirmed the account I had received of the state of the Christians. While we were resting at this place, two other young Christian men from the capital entered the house. They expressed themselves truly rejoiced at our meeting, as they had only heard that I was expected soon. After conversing a short time, they said their business did not admit of delay, but proposed that we should unite in thanksgiving and

prayer to God before we separated, and when I had read a few verses in the New Testament, one of them took a small book out of the pocket of his inner garment, read a hymn, and then, at my request, prayed with great propriety and fervour.

While at our next halting-place, a musical band from the capital, on their way to the coast, arrived, and after I had retired to rest, came and played several tunes outside my door. While dressing, the next morning, the same band came and played again. As I came out of my house the officer expressed his pleasure at meeting me; the musicians then struck up our English "God Save the Queen" as I entered my palanquin to set out for the forest.

Every day I spent in Madagascar added to the evidences of the great change which had taken place among the people, and the difference between my present and my former duties in this country. It was not now a visit of observation in which I was engaged—an experiment as to whether anything could be done for the Christians, but a mission to examine and arrange so that, as far as possible, Christianity might be most suitably commended to the people, and most advantageously established in the country. The commencement and prosecution of a work so important and blessed, and for which many had so long waited and prayed, naturally occupied many of my thoughts, while it inspired the most cheering anticipations, heightened by my slight intercourse with the successive parties of Christians whom I had met on the road.

The pleasure of my journey was also increased by the exhilarating effect of the charming scenery through which I occasionally passed. The season was pleasant. It was spring-time in Madagascar; the days were fine, and the tropical breeze fresh and cool. Many of the splendid flowers were just coming into bloom, and all vegetation looked fresh and green, as yet uninjured by drought or sun. Many of the trees and shrubs, gay with their own blossoms, were wreathed together by creeping plants also in flower; while the palms and the ferns and other

tropical plants gave the whole scene a splendid and luxuriant aspect.

The country after leaving Maromby was singularly delightful. Of all the beautiful forms which the vegetation of tropical regions presents, the bamboo often combines the most perfect symmetry and grace; and a species of this plant was so abundant in this neighbourhood as to give a peculiar character to the whole scenery. Each plant growing like an elastic cane, an inch or more in diameter at the root, and tapering to a point at a height of forty feet or more, with feathery branches three or four feet in length at the base, also diminishing gradually to a point at the end, bending with a graceful curve before the gentlest wind, its myriad leaflets quivering with every breath of air, was in itself an object of unspeakable interest and pleasure. But the bamboo growing singly or in clusters often appeared covering the entire valley with its bright yellowish-green leaves, or rising in a tuft and waving like a plume on the summit of a hill. Occasionally, a few rofia palms or a clump of traveller's trees might be seen rising among the ferns near the water. Altogether, I do not recollect ever having beheld more charming scenery.

The road to the forest, over which I was now travelling, was one continuous and difficult ascent, varied only by slight hollows. Each of my former journeys through this region had been made in rainy weather, but the fineness of the day enabled me now to observe the peculiarities of this part of the route much better than I had done before. I had not previously noticed the great height and the smallness of the trunks of most of the trees, of which but few are deciduous. In the less crowded parts I occasionally saw truly gigantic and venerable patriarchs of the forest; sometimes also I met with a few bamboos shorter, thicker, and less flexible than those which I had seen in the lower districts, and I could not fail to observe the number of plants of the palm, the *Pandanus*, the *Aralia*, and the *Dracæna* species,—the two former generally

most abounding near the shore, but the latter most frequent near the interior. There were also a number of rattan-like canes, and sometimes creepers covered with blossom, as well as others of amazing size and apparently of interminable length, twining like cables up the trunks of the largest trees, and stretching away until lost in the interlacing canopy of leaves and branches high above.

The chief exports from Madagascar are horned cattle for the markets of Mauritius and Réunion. More than 10,000 are annually shipped for the former place. A large portion of these come from the interior provinces and even from beyond the capital, where it is said there is more level land, and better pasturage. They travel by slow journeys to the ports on the coast, chiefly Tamatave, and Foule Pointe. I had repeatedly met large numbers nearer the coast, but in one of the most intricate and difficult parts of our journey to-day, we met a drove consisting of more than a hundred animals, some of them very large. Whether we advanced or halted it was in the narrowest possible line, and the men who went before raised such a tumultuous noise, and plied their sticks so freely, that the frightened animals seemed as anxious to get out of our way as we were to let them pass. One of the oxen stood still either from stupor or fear, blocking up the only passage by which it was possible to proceed, when one of the bearers, a nimble little fellow, sprang forward, seized the animal by one of its large horns, hung upon it like a bull-dog, and swung its head round, while the other men forced it out of the narrow path. The manner in which the heavy bullocks climbed up the steep banks, passed along the narrow edge of earth or rock at the top, or forced their way through the trees and seemingly impenetrable entanglement of bush and enormous creepers along the outskirts of the forest, was truly astonishing, and it seemed almost impossible but that some of them must come rolling down upon us. At length, after a great deal of shouting, pulling and pushing, and by repeatedly driving some of the animals back, or allowing only

a few to pass at a time, we were able to pursue our way in safety.

It was near sunset on the 10th of June when we reached the Government station at Alamazaotra, tired and sore with the fatigues of this difficult part of the journey, with the straining of wrists and other joints required to keep my balance in the palanquin. Here several Christians who had been six days from the capital came in. Some of them I had seen before, and all expressed their pleasure at our meeting. One intelligent young chief said—"I am glad to meet you again. Since you were here last, I have been an exile in chains for four years and six months. I have done nothing wrong. It was for no crime, only for praying, that I was made to suffer." He then mentioned the place to which during the last persecution he had been banished, and the companions of his sufferings. These travellers brought communications from the Christians at the capital, one very affecting letter from the widow of a martyr written by her son. I had been in habits of frequent intercourse with the family, and they wished to make me acquainted with their great affliction. We formed a large party at evening worship, and it was late before they left, but I heard them singing in their own house long after I had retired to rest. I find entered in my journal for the evening—"My servants are already asleep on the floor, but the Christians are singing most heartily in a house opposite. Strange land this! Heathen drumming, shouting and drunkenness all one night; a band of military music playing great part of the second; and now the third night made vocal with Christian songs of thankful rejoicing."

Although the day had scarcely broken, and the wide plain to the east of Moramanga was covered with white mist when we set out, on the 13th day since our journey commenced, we saw numbers of people carrying baskets of rofia leaf, cotton, cloth, manioc, rice, poultry, and meal to the weekly market held at a short distance from the village; and we afterwards met

numbers of people during several miles of the road, proceeding to the same place.

It was noon when we crossed the clear flowing river Mongoro, and proceeded to Ibodinifody. Early on the following day we reached the extensive, beautiful and fertile valley of Ankay, and crossed the small streams running into the Valala river, the wanderings of which, as it flowed far away to the north reminded me of the Lune, near Lancaster. Leaving Mangabe, Prince Ramonja's village to the north, we halted at Mandrakody, the highest village on the eastern side of Angavo.

Here, in consequence of receiving a communication from the capital, I wrote to inform the king and the Christians of my arrival at Ambodinangavo (the base of the lofty Angavo), sometimes reckoned amongst the highest mountains of the island.

Amongst the many objects which attracted my attention, we passed this day a singularly simple funeral procession. The corpse, wrapped and corded up in white cloth, was borne slowly along by two men, as I was told, to the distant village to which the family belonged. One woman, past middle-age, probably the widow, followed alone, to render at the side of the grave the last offices of affection to the remains of the departed.

We took the cool time of early morning on the following day to ascend the steep and rocky path up the side of the lofty mountain, on reaching the summit of which we entered the province of Imerina.

This broad based, compact mountain, 5000 feet above the sea, constituted a valuable frontier defence to the Bezanozano against the incursions of the Hovas, and its wide flattened dome-like summit, surrounded by deep ditches, occasionally intersecting each other, rendered it, before the introduction of fire-arms, an impregnable natural fortress. It was said that the first Radama tried in vain for two years to dislodge its occupants, and only succeeded at last by the aid of artillery.

A range of inferior mountains extends to the south of Angavo

and another, stretching a considerable distance to the north, formed the western boundary of the verdant and beautiful valley of Ankay, and had divided the province of the Bezanozano from that of the Hovas. I had noticed in crossing the eastern valley a number of deep dark lines like cuttings on the summits and upper parts of the spurs of several of these mountains, and my companions informed me they were ditches and embankments for defence in times of war, and that in former times there had been frequently fighting there, especially near two of the passes which they pointed out. The extent to which most of the villages, and the summits of the hills were protected by embankments and ditches seemed to indicate the extreme insecurity of society in former times. To this source is probably to be traced the almost universal practice of every one above the condition of a slave travelling armed. We often met a man and woman travelling together, and if the man's burden was heavy, the woman, who usually walked behind the man, whether husband or brother, carried the spear.

Among the travellers whom we met a little farther on, was a single family. The man walked first with a load in a basket at the front end of a stick over his shoulder, and at the other end was suspended a large open-worked basket made of split bamboo, in which sat a little child two or three years old, apparently enjoying the ride, while a woman, whom I supposed to be the mother, with a bundle on her back, and a spear in her hand, walked behind.

Shortly after leaving the ridge of Angavo, while descending a beautifully wooded valley, we were detained some time by two successive herds of cattle, some of which seemed mischievously disposed, but were ultimately turned aside, while we passed on quietly. At Ankaramadinika, a village on the border of the forest east of Angavo, we halted for breakfast. Here we overtook the two officers who had come with their relative from Mauritius.

The aspect of the first village in Imerina did not compare

very favourably with several that we had passed, but notwithstanding this, all our company seemed to feel comparatively at home in being once more within their native province, while the ascent of the mountain and the sharp air of the high lands to which it led, rendered our repast welcome.

Resuming our journey, we travelled over a country different in appearance from that we had left. Long rounded hills were intersected by shallower and broader valleys, with less land that admitted of irrigation. Trees were few. The mountains were not piled up in long and lofty ranges, but were rather single clusters of granite mountains with broad bases, and often fortress-like summits, or a naked mass of rock rising above the grassy surface of the ground.

After travelling about an hour, we reached the cultivated valley of Nosi-arivo (a thousand islands) extending on the north of our road. On the western side of this valley a number of respectably-dressed men and women coming out of a cluster of houses, called to us as we passed. They proved to be a party from the capital who, having heard that the long lost relations were returning, had come out a distance of twenty miles to meet them. Only one of them had ever seen the chief person they came to meet, the aunt of the two young officers to whom I have frequently adverted. She had been captured in war when quite a child, had been sold to the slave-dealers, taken to Mauritius and made a slave there, but at the period of emancipation had obtained her liberty, had been sought out by the officers, her nephews, and had returned with them to see their mother, her only sister still living.

There was also the Christian mother of the youth whom I had met in chains on a former visit, but who had afterwards escaped to Mauritius, and was now, in answer to many prayers, returning to gladden the fond and afflicted mother's heart.

As soon as we were informed of the errand of those who had called to us, we told them their friends were following, and left them to the undisturbed mingling of emotions which a stranger

could not share, and which can scarcely occur more than once in a lifetime.

The country around us was now entirely destitute of wood. Not a single tree was to be seen in any direction, and the view over the green undulating surface around us was broken by but few though often striking objects—sometimes bare piles of blue rock with pyramidal or rounded summits, or, nearer the road, single monumental stones, tall, square, unhewn, and often overgrown with moss, of which there are a number in this neighbourhood, as well as in other parts of Ankova.*

About an hour after leaving Nosi-arivo, we saw at some distance before us a considerable number of persons sitting on the grass by the roadside on the slope of a hill. As we approached they rose, commenced singing, in a long familiar tune, a Christian hymn, and advanced to meet us. The king's officer informed me that they were a party of the native Christians. I alighted as we met, and received their cordial greetings. They said they had been sent by their brethren and sisters to bid me welcome. They handed me letters from the king, the Prime Minister, and the leaders of the Christians, and then entering our palanquins, we resumed our journey. As soon as we moved onward the party began again to sing, and thus we proceeded, the bold, massive piles of rock and the rude monumental stones of their ancestors reared on the sides of the road along which we passed echoing the song of the rejoicing Christians.

Ambatomanga (blue rock), the most important village or town between Ankay and Antananarivo, had long been in sight. The tall two-storeyed and verandahed house of the chief stood conspicuous above all the straw-thatched dwellings of the people, which extend to a mass of blue granite about 200

* These single stones are often 10 or 18 feet high, and are fixed by the road sides or in other conspicuous places. We have seldom found any name or event associated with them by the natives. In answer to our inquiries they generally said they were stones of their ancestors, but whether commemorative of victories or monumental we were not able to ascertain. Probably they were both.

yards long and 100 feet high, that gives its name to the village. The remains of the ancient walls, the deep treble fosse or ditch, the well-built and recently-erected tomb of Ravalo in the centre of the upper surface of the rock, with the house or temple of Raodibato, the tutelar idol at one end, and the house of the keeper or guardian at the other, all combined to render Ambatomanga an interesting object, even more so than when I first beheld it five years before.

Crossing the stream at the foot of the rocky pile called Talata, where a weekly market is held on Tuesdays, we entered the southern gate, and proceeded through the narrow and intricate windings of the village paths, until a little before four in the afternoon we entered the court-yard of the chief's residence, where I was welcomed by two young girls in silk dresses, the daughters of the owner of the place.

A little before sunset an officer arrived from the capital, and brought, in the name of the owners of the house, a present of a sheep, pigs, poultry, and a quantity of rice and manioc, which proved a seasonable supply for my bearers and companions as well as myself.

There the mother of Rasoamanana, the youth I had seen in chains, a middle-aged woman, clothed in a plain white dress, came with several members of his family to thank me for the kindness I had shown him when in bondage. Her heart seemed to overflow with gladness at beholding him again. I was much pleased with her gentleness of spirit. She seemed just such a mother as it might be expected would have written the anxious and affectionate letters which he used to receive from her in Mauritius. Our large room was crowded at evening worship, and we found so much to tell and to hear that it was late indeed before we retired to rest.

The fatigue and excitement of the past day, delightful as it had been, rendered the rest of the morrow—which was Sunday—most welcome and refreshing. At ten o'clock in the forenoon the Christians of our party and those from the capital,

assembled, to the number of about a hundred, in my house. After singing, reading, and prayers, Andriambelo, one of the most esteemed and effective of native preachers, and with whom I had been frequently associated when he was suffering under persecution and an exile in a distant part of the country, set forth, in a discourse from Gal. iii. 28, with much plainness and feeling, the spiritual union of all true believers in Christ. One of the other preachers afterwards delivered a short discourse, full of inducements to thankfulness and joy, from Isa. ix. 2. I was somewhat affected when, on looking over a hymn-book of one of the preachers while we were singing, I perceived it to be interlined in several places with words in English in my own handwriting, and afterwards learned that I had given it, on a former visit, during the time of persecution and suffering, to a persecuted Christian. I had forgotten the gift which he had so carefully preserved.

The utmost attention was manifested during the whole time by the people inside the house. All sate, as did the preachers, except when they prayed. The heathen gathered outside in front, and a long line of heads appeared in perspective from the door. Those nearest knelt down, so as just to look over the heads of the Christians sitting inside; the next line stood behind these, the rank behind appearing higher still, while those at a greater distance were raised on logs of wood or seated on the opposite wall. All were exceedingly well behaved and attentive.

At four in the afternoon, when we again assembled, the house was more crowded than before. After the introductory part of the service, I addressed the people from Acts xxviii. 15. A native preacher subsequently delivered a second discourse, and concluded with prayer. Before the people had dispersed, a messenger came to announce the arrival of some officers from the capital, and shortly afterwards the king's private secretary and six others entered, and informed me that they were sent by the king and queen to conduct me to the capital. Three

of them were officers who had been sent to welcome me in 1857, and are the authors of the vocabulary which I had sent to England to be printed. After we had exchanged congratulations, the officers and their attendants sat down, and, at the suggestion of the preachers, our worship was resumed by candle-light, for no one seemed to wish to leave. Another simple but earnest discourse followed, and after closing with the Lord's Prayer and the benediction, the assembly dispersed.

As they were leaving, one of the preachers asked if they might come again to converse with me at eight o'clock. I was already somewhat faint and tired, but could not refuse their request, and after I had taken a little rest and refreshment, the officers, the preachers, and a number of the leading Christians, came to converse with me until nearly ten o'clock, when we prayed together and they then left me, filled with wonder and admiration at the blessed change which appeared to be taking place in the minds of many of the people.

About eight o'clock the next morning, July 16th, the officers of the palace delivered a letter from the king, stating that he had sent one of his relatives, a councillor, and six officers of rank to express his pleasure at my approach, and to accompany me to Antananarivo. The officers, with all of whom except one I had been previously acquainted, and with most of whom I had held pleasant intercourse, expressed their satisfaction in the duty to which they had been appointed. They were all, I had reason to believe, Christian men.

As soon as we had breakfasted, we set out from Ambatomanga, which is about fifteen miles from the capital. Our party, including the king's messengers, the officers and their friends from Mauritius, occupied eighteen palanquins, and there were about one hundred persons on foot. We had not proceeded far before we were met by other officers, with letters of welcome from the heads of the Christians and others. These were not merely bearers of letters, but their object in coming was also to ask a favour, viz., that if I had brought any Bibles

I would reserve one for each of the parties by whom they had been sent. I knew the applicants were Christians who occupied positions of influence and trust, and I promised to give one to each of them.

The day was fine and the journey pleasant. With the chief officer, one of the councillors, I had much conversation by the way, chiefly relating to the king, his utter disbelief in the idols, and his desire for the welfare of the people; also his clemency and humanity, and his generous treatment of his cousin Rambosalama, his rival, who had prepared to contend with him for the throne, but whom he would not allow to be put to death nor suffer any part of his vast possessions to be confiscated, though all, according to Malagasy law and usage, were considered to be forfeited.

He told me also that about two months ago an idol-keeper had informed the king that the idol required an ox to be presented to him. The king replied, "Very well; let the idol come himself and ask me, and then perhaps I may give him one."

Antananarivo, the inland mountain "city of a thousand towns," as the natives fondly call it, stretching for at least two miles along the crest of the highest mountain range in the centre of Imerina, had been for some time visible, when, about noon, we reached the small and mean-looking suburban village of Ambohipo, four or five miles from the entrance to the capital, and where we halted to make a brief toilette in the open air before entering the city. Some of the party dressed behind a rock, others in the bend of a watercourse; while in a grassy spot a little way from the road I performed my ablutions, and tried to make myself presentable.

We then resumed our journey, and soon after passing through the village of Faliarivo (a thousand joys), situated at the foot of the hill, began our ascent. As we passed through Ankadibevava, the ancient eastern gate of the city, and ascended to the tomb of the renowned judge, Andriamahitsy, on the ridge

of the mountain, I was cheered by the welcome recognition of many friends, who either came out to meet me or offered their salutations from within the enclosures round their houses, where they were assembled.

Descending on the western side of the hill, we soon reached the south-eastern angle of Antsahatsiroa (the valley that has not a second), my appointed place of residence. Here the officers alighted, ushered me into a neatly-papered room with matted floor, and then led on to a room with curtained windows, and furnished with chairs, tables, and a bed with muslin curtains. The cooking-house was as usual in the yard; but there was also an upper room, with a fire-place in it, which was pointed out to me for use as a kitchen in the rainy season. After expressing my grateful sense of the provision made for my comfort and accommodation, the officers left to report my arrival to the king.

The Christians now continued for some hours coming to bid me welcome, until, with all the excitement I had experienced, and the fatigues of a journey of some hours without rest, and having taken no food since the morning, I felt thoroughly exhausted. About four o'clock, however, two Christian friends, who had not been to see me, sent me a tureen of soup, a roast duck, and some nicely-cooked rice, which, with a cup of tea, completely revived me.

Rahaniraka—whom I had known when he was in England, where he was educated, and who was the chief secretary of the government—came in while I was at tea, and took some with me. Indeed, for a long time after my arrival, I generally had some uninvited, though not unwelcome, guest at my breakfast and tea. Rahaniraka said the king and queen were pleased that I had arrived so soon, and that the king, although not a Christian himself, had always been friendly to those who were; that he was ever ready to aid them, and desired that his people should be educated.

The secretary's wife, his son's wife, and all his children—

three sons, four daughters—came soon after, bringing, according to Malagasy custom, a present of food for the newly-arrived visitor. He said they were all Christians, and their conversation and demeanour accorded with this declaration. He then introduced his son-in-law, Ramaka, an apparently energetic man, about forty years of age, who had been subjected to the ordeal of poison, and had, I was told, on account of his faith, been some years in prison, sometimes bound so tightly that his flesh was lacerated by the cords.

In the course of our conversation the secretary said, pointing to his good-looking and interesting family, "I wish I was as good a Christian as they are." I replied, "You may become so if you will. God made you acquainted with His gracious word when you were in England. He has preserved you through the intervening years. If you sincerely desire and seek Him, He is both able and willing to make you a Christian in heart, and then you will be one in your life." He said the general attention to religion, especially in his own family, had occupied many of his thoughts, and he added that the king's mind was changing in favour of the Bible. He then said, that as soon as I had rested from the fatigue of the journey the king would be glad to see me.

Soon after the secretary and his family had left, a number of the native ministers and Christians came, and said it was their wish that we should acknowledge together the Divine goodness in allowing us to meet under circumstances so favourable. The proposal was welcome, and we united with grateful, hopeful feelings in thanksgiving and praise to God. We then entered into deeply interesting conversation on the trials through which the Christians had passed since my former visit, their probable number and present circumstances; I also endeavoured to answer their inquiries respecting the baptism of infants and admission to communion, about which they said they had been waiting for my coming to ask for directions.

The result of this interview was to me encouraging; for

though the Christian character of some who were classed with the believers was defective, these were comparatively but few; while the earnestness and activity of the truly sincere among them was peculiarly cheering.

At a late hour my friends retired, and as they did so, an officer came to say that the king would see me at the palace at two o'clock on the following day.

CHAPTER II.

Welcome from the Christians—Visit to the King and Queen—Letters from Earl Russell and the Governor of Mauritius—Pleasure afforded by the continued friendship of England—Announcement of presents—Portrait of the King—Homage and offering from the returned exiles—Affecting interview with the widows and orphans of recent Martyrs—Satisfactory interview with the Prime Minister—Origin and import of Malagasy names—Visit to the site of the first Martyrdom—First Sunday in Antananarivo—Funerals on Sundays—School for young nobles—Reading with the King—Dinner and evening with a Christian noble—Visit to the Commander-in-Chief—Dinner with the Chief Secretary of State and Chief of the Keepers of the Idols—The Burial-ground of Foreigners—Notice of the Tarpeian Rock, and the Christians executed there.

THE Malagasy, like the inhabitants of almost all tropical climates, are early risers, and soon after sunrise on the day following my arrival I found my bearers waiting for their payment, which, in consequence of the number of my packages, including the presents, amounted to about 200 dollars. Numbers of people soon came to bid me welcome, and to bring offerings of provisions. The king and queen, and most of the nobles, especially those whom I had been acquainted with during my former visit, as well as many of the Christians, sent me presents, according to the custom of the country, consisting of oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, poultry, eggs, rice and other vegetables in considerable quantity. The animals I gave to the Christians to take care of until I should need them, and was glad to distribute amongst the poor of their number the superabundance that had been so generously presented.

Soon after noon, the officers * came to conduct me to the

* Officers among the Malagasy are called Manamboninahitra (men), having

king. We passed along the western side of Miadanamanjaka, the large palace, which had not been opened since the death of the late queen, to a small royal building at the south called Miadimafana, which had been built for the present queen while princess royal, and was then her Majesty's residence. We entered by the northern gateway, and passed along between lines of soldiers to the west, where the front court is raised six or eight feet above the road beneath, and surrounded by a stone balustrade. From this court we were ushered into a lofty and splendidly furnished room about forty feet by thirty. The king and queen, who were seated on a richly carved ebony sofa, cushioned with damask, both looked remarkably well. After receiving a very cordial welcome, I thanked them for the accommodation with which I had been so generously furnished, and assured them that the officers, both at Tamatave and on the road, had faithfully obeyed their orders, and had afforded me every possible assistance. To which the king replied that the officers had only done their duty. He said they were pleased to see me at Antananarivo again, asked if I had been attacked with fever, and hoped I should find the accommodation all that I desired. He also asked what news I had brought from England.

I said that our queen and the royal family, as well as the nation at large, had been deeply afflicted by the death of the Prince Consort, that much interest was felt by the English in the condition and prosperity of Madagascar, that the friendship of England was unchanged, and that many hopes were inspired by the auspicious commencement of the present reign. That the London Missionary Society had sent me to arrange for their

rank and belong to the army. A large proportion of the officers are, in addition to their rank in the army, nominally attached to superior officers, and called Deka, a derivation from A.D.C. The troops now are called out once a fortnight, but a number of the Deka are required to be in daily attendance on the higher officers, to carry their messages or execute their orders. The individuals attending are changed every fortnight. They do not wear any uniform, and, ordinarily, have no badge of distinction.

missionaries resuming their endeavours in Madagascar, which had been interrupted for so many years. I added that as the letter I had received at Mauritius clearly expressed his Majesty's wish for the return of the missionaries, I had transmitted it to the Society, who had appointed six missionaries to Madagascar, and I hoped these were now on their way.

The king said he prized very highly the friendship of England, and was glad that his proceedings were approved; adding that he was gratified to hear of missionaries coming to his country, and would be ready to afford them protection, and aid in their efforts to enlighten the people.

I then stated that, previous to my departure from England, Earl Russell, her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, hearing that I was about to proceed to Madagascar, had expressed to me personally the continuance of the good wishes and friendly feelings of the English Government towards Madagascar, and had directed the Under Secretary of State to address to me a letter to that effect, with liberty to communicate the same to his Majesty, which I begged to do. I also assured their Majesties of the sincere friendship of Sir William Stevenson, Governor of Mauritius. I then delivered the letters which his Excellency had confided to my care, one of them being a copy of a letter from Queen Victoria.

I added that in making the above communication, and delivering the letters, I wished his Majesty, the officers, and the people of Madagascar to know that I had received no appointment of any kind from the English Government, and had no political duties to perform; that I came solely as a Christian missionary, and as a friend to their country, and was simply the bearer of the communications from England to Madagascar.

The king and queen stood up while the copy of the letter from Queen Victoria and that from Earl Russell were being translated and read by the Secretary. The former they regarded, as did the officers of the court, with profound attention. In reference to the letter from Earl Russell, the king said the

assurance of the continued friendship of England was exceedingly welcome and encouraging.

I then informed their Majesties that I had in charge several presents from friends in England, one of which I begged to offer. It was a likeness of the king painted in oil from a photograph of large size which I had taken during my former visit to the capital. When I had taken the picture out of the case, the king and queen came to look at it, and I watched with interest the effect it produced. The king appeared at first bewildered with surprise. He smiled and looked again and again, and then came to the place where I was standing, and pressed my hand very warmly, saying, "I remember all this," pointing to the different parts of the picture. He then gazed again and smiled with great satisfaction. The queen stood motionless looking at it in silence for some time, and then exclaimed "*Izy hiany.*" It is himself. The officers and attendants who now came to look expressed their pleasure, and inquired how it could have been made so like. M. Laborde, the French consul, who was present during the whole interview, said the likeness was remarkable, and the execution exceedingly good. Two pictures were ordered to be removed from the wall above the seat occupied by the king and queen, and the king's portrait was suspended in their place, apparently much to the satisfaction of all present. The queen asked if I would take her portrait and send it to England to be painted in the same manner. I readily answered that I would, but this was never done. The king asked if the picture could be enlarged to the size of life. I told him it could in England, but not in Madagascar, and shortly afterwards I took my leave.

The older of the two officers who had accompanied me from Mauritius, also the exiles who had returned to their native country, together with their friends, were on this occasion admitted to the palace. They also addressed the king and queen, and presented a sovereign as hasina, or expression of loyalty, when we retired.

My house was literally thronged with visitors during the remainder of the day, and towards evening, among others in affliction, four of the widows of those who had suffered martyrdom since my former visit came, some of them accompanied by their children, to see me. The husbands of some of them had been stoned to death, others had died in the heavy fetters in which they had been bound and banished to different parts of the country. They said that from forty to sixty had suffered this punishment. With some of these men and their families I had had frequent intercourse in 1856. Other survivors of that last cruel persecution also came. The details these women gave of the capture, condemnation, torture, and suffering of the departed, was most harrowing, as they described the rude manner in which they were stoned to death, or in which the massive irons were riveted on their persons, and the hunger and sickness and suffering they endured before death released them. There was an indescribable appearance of shrinking from the contemplation of such suffering, and an irrepressible sense of its intensity in the expression of their countenances, which seemed in an astonishing manner to change, and to indicate calmness if not joy so soon as they spoke of the steadfastness of the sufferers, or when any allusion was made to their present condition. Even these afflicted visitors did not come empty-handed, and, apart from other considerations, I had too much regard for their feelings to manifest anything but pleasure in receiving their little presents. Afterwards the widow of another noble-hearted man who had suffered death in the same persecution came, attended by an interesting young woman whom she called her daughter, and a Christian slave, who had shared in their sufferings, and was regarded almost as a child: companionship in suffering for Christ as well as fidelity in the hour of trial having, as in more than one instance I had occasion to observe, supplanted the tie between owner and slave by closer and holier bonds superior to any merely social or earthly relationship. Many were the instances they recited of the perils and sufferings of

the departed before the death which the protomartyr Stephen died brought relief. I had received a number of most valuable communications from the deceased, and they were deeply affected when I showed them his signature to the last letter I had received from him, and written not long before he suffered. They remained with us to family worship, and I have seldom noticed more softness and feeling in singing than they evinced on that occasion. My own deep interest in this aged widow was not diminished when I afterwards heard that she had desired to secure the mangled body of her martyred husband for burial, and had, through the efforts of friends, obtained the head, which had been carefully preserved in a box in her own room till it could be safely buried among the graves of his family. We almost shudder at a state of society in which such a ghastly object could alleviate distress, or be cherished as a treasure, and yet I met with few more sensible, benevolent, useful, and considerate Christians than this honoured martyr's widow.

Having been informed that Prince Ramonja, the friend of the Christians during their season of persecution, and a partaker of their sufferings, was seriously ill, and wished to see me, I visited him on the following day. He appeared feeble and suffering, but expressed his gratitude for the altered circumstances of the Christians. He seemed glad to hear that a doctor was coming with the expected missionaries. His son returned with me to join the Christians, a number of whom began to meet for worship at my house every evening, where also four of them slept every night in the outer room to ensure my safety.

On the following morning before eight o'clock a message came from the Prime Minister, Rainivoninahitraniony,* in con-

* He was commander-in-chief during the reign of the late queen, and was the chief instrument in placing the present king upon the throne.

The name of this noble, like that of many others of his order, is almost as intolerably long as those of some of the North American Indians, and, like them, is also a sentence and not a single word. The Malagasy are fond of hyperbole, especially in names of persons and of places, and the easy combination of sounds in their language renders their pronunciation less difficult than might

sequence of which I set out to his residence at the north end of the higher portion of the city. A long flight of broad stone steps led from the road to the gate of his court-yard. As soon as it was opened we entered, and passing between rows of sentries proceeded to the door of the house, where we were met by the minister, who informed me that my arrival had afforded much pleasure to the king and the nobles, and that the tidings of the continued friendship of England were peculiarly welcome. He asked how many missionaries were coming and when they would arrive, and expressed his desire that the doctor who I had informed him was among them should reside near him.

In reply to his inquiries about the objects for which the missionaries were coming, I said it was not to teach the people to work in iron or wood, as they had already been taught such arts; but that schoolmasters and printers as well as preachers would come; that their objects were religious and educational; that the missionaries would not be allowed to engage in trade, but to teach the people to fear God and honour the king, to obey the laws, and to promote the welfare of all classes, both for this life and the life to come. He said he knew that that was the chief object of the missionaries; that true Christians were always to be trusted; that he esteemed them highly, and had protected many in his own house in times of persecution; I had been previously informed that he had done so, that he knew

be supposed. Their names are always significant, sometimes strikingly so. They illustrate also the almost universal custom of the father assuming the name given to his son. The minister's name was, until recently, Haro, or Raharo, and from the time of his birth his father was known as Rainiharo, father of Haro. On the birth of a grandson, who was called Voninahitraniony, the minister adopted the name as his own, and has since been designated Rai-ni-vo-ni-na-hi-tra-ni-ony, the father of the flower of the grass of the river or lake; or, figuratively, the father of the glory of the river. The names are not always so long. That of one of the sisters of the minister is Rasoaray, the good one. One of his slaves, a good Christian man, who lately had a son born to him, called him Kaleba, after the Caleb of the Bible, and has ever since rejoiced in the euphonious name of Rainikaleba. There are few more interesting subjects of inquiry than the origin and import of names among the Malagasy.

them all personally, and would continue to afford them all the protection in his power.

I was glad of the opportunity these remarks afforded to state that Christianity consisted in love, obedience, and trust in God; that the laws by which the Christians as such regulated their conduct were those of the Bible, enforced by the authority of Christ; that the Bible taught the duty of obedience to the laws of the country; that the Christians would render such obedience, and would, I trusted, prove worthy of the good opinion he had expressed. I said that Christianity was adapted to make men good subjects and good members of society in all the relations of life. It was only when the laws of the land were contrary to what the Lord Jesus Christ had commanded them to do, that the Christians would feel any hesitation, and then, as he knew, they would rather suffer than disobey the Lord.

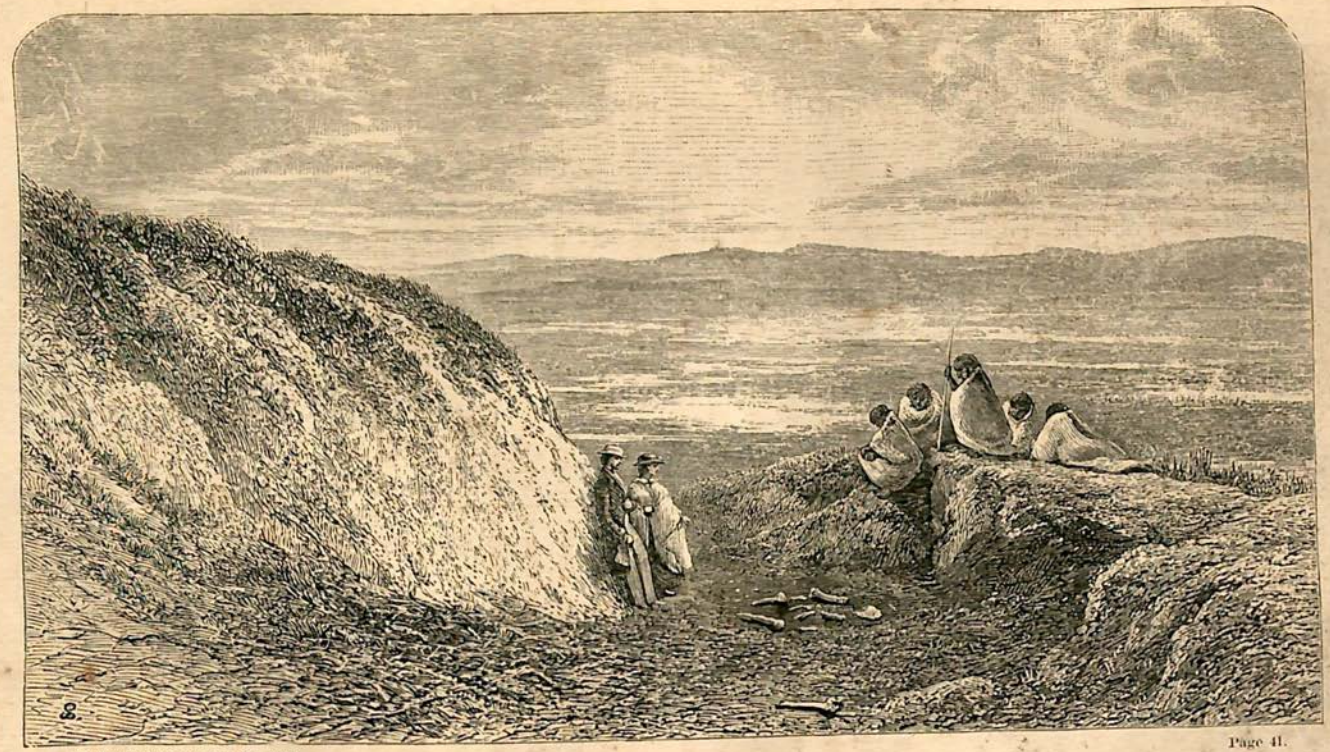
The minister said he had strongly advised the king against allowing anything like persecution of any one, and would himself never agree to it, adding that on this subject the king's opinion exactly coincided with his own. I told him I had heard with satisfaction his testimony in favour of the Christians, and felt assured that the spread of Christianity would be the most effectual means of improvement and prosperity throughout all classes of the community.

In person the minister is rather above the middle stature, his figure well proportioned. His head is small and compact, with good and regular features. He appears self-possessed and calm, bears himself with dignity, and manifests considerable force of character. Though so uniformly just and friendly, he is not regarded as a Christian, but his wife and several members of his family are such, and he is not unacquainted with the books of the Christians. He often, during the period of severe persecution, interfered publicly in favour of the Christians, and has shown them kindness and afforded them protection whenever it was in his power to do so. In the letter which I received from

him at Ambotomanga he spoke of them as "our friends." I left the minister, grateful to Him by whom all hearts are influenced for good for the additional evidence now afforded of the good will towards the Christians cherished by the chief authorities of the country.

Among my visitors on the afternoon of the same day was a Mahomedan priest from Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, and two Arabs, who I supposed to be traders from Bombay. The former spoke a little English, and said he had come to the capital to visit the king on his accession to the throne. Two other Arabs from Bombay afterwards called. They said they were agents of an American trader residing at Mojanga, one of the chief ports on the western side of Madagascar, and had brought cotton and other goods for sale. In the course of conversation they told me there were 1,000 Arabs or Mahomedans on the west coast. They said they had been two months on the journey, and that some part of the road was very difficult.

On the following day the king sent for me to ask if I could give him any information about the laws of England or of France respecting foreigners residing or occupying land or buildings in those countries. I said that I believed generally all foreigners obeyed the laws of the country in which they dwelt when the laws were those of civilised communities, and that in some countries the extent to which foreigners were amenable to the laws was regulated by treaty. He asked if I had any copies of the laws of the above countries respecting the residence of foreigners, as he wished to have such as foreigners would be required to obey in Madagascar written, and, if possible, printed, that there might be no disturbance or trouble in consequence of their ignorance of the laws. I told him the missionaries would bring a printing press, and would be glad to print anything of the kind, and I promised to send to his secretary, who could read English, any books I might have that would be likely to assist him. I then accompanied him to the stone house which he was building for a school, and found,



Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis.

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PLACE WHERE THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MARTYRS WERE PUT TO DEATH.

in a room already finished, about forty boys learning Malagasy and English under a native master, who had formerly been assistant master in one of the schools of the early missionaries.*

During my former visit to the capital the votaries of the idols had been so fearful of my manifesting any sympathy with the Christians, that the least inquisitiveness on my part respecting the scenes or the circumstances of their sufferings would have given offence, and might perhaps have deprived me of the opportunities I enjoyed of intercourse with them. I had consequently never attempted to visit any of the spots where Christians had been put to death, and had only seen them from a distance. Being now in the neighbourhood, after leaving the king I went to Am-bo-hi-po-tsy (white village), so called on account of the colour of the rock and the soil of the place. It is the spot where the first martyrs were put to death, situated on the northern declivity of the hill on which the capital is built, a rugged and dreary region which had long been used as a place for public executions. Part of the rude earthworks or fortifications by which this end of the city was defended still remain near the path leading past some stone quarries to the cultivated plain below. The most perfect of these is part of the ditch, about four or more feet in width, and somewhat less in depth. A little beyond an ancient unhewn rude stone pillar, and where the path crosses the ditch, the first martyrs suffered death in 1836 and '7. A number of human bones lying near the spot were pointed out to me as marking the place where the Christian martyrs were killed. I was told it was some time since any but Christians had been put to death there, and these were possibly the bones of the martyrs.

The first martyr for Christ suffered here in 1836; Rasalama,

* The opening of a school had been one of the king's earliest acts on succeeding to the throne, and the mission sent by Sir William Stevenson found about thirty boys under daily instruction. Rahaniraka, who had been educated in England, had also sent me a prospectus for a sort of high school, which it was proposed to establish at the capital.

a Christian woman between twenty and thirty years of age, bearing no common name, for Rasalama signifies peace, happiness. She was imprisoned at Ambatonakanga, the site of the first house built exclusively for Christian worship in this country,* which, when the persecution arose, was turned into a prison. She was after condemnation put in irons, so fastened as to produce great pain. The day fixed for her to be put to death was Sunday; and on that day she was taken from the prison to the place of execution. When brought to the spot, she had knelt down, and asked for a few minutes to pray. This was granted, and then her body fell pierced with the spears of her executioners. It was said that, though the body fell, the spirit had fled while she was in the act of prayer.†

The second martyr, Rafaralahy, a young man, suffered on the same place about a year after. At the request of Rasalama, when she was taken forth to death, he had walked by her side to the place of execution, and offered words of encouragement to her to the last. When brought to the place himself, the executioners seized him, and were about, as was their custom, forcibly to throw him down; he said to them calmly, "There is no need for you to do that. I will not cause you any trouble." He also asked to be allowed to pray, and then gently laid himself down and received the executioners' spears.

I was repeatedly visited by the surviving relatives and descendants of these two forerunners of that goodly company whose spirits have since joined the noble army of martyrs. Others followed these two, and on this now hallowed ground sealed their testimony with their blood.‡ My companions, some

* One of the memorial churches is erected on this spot.

† I offer no opinion as to the correctness or otherwise of this statement, but simply repeat what has been voluntarily stated to me; and when I have questioned the speaker, I have been told that such was the declaration of witnesses of the execution. It does not affect the courage and constancy of the sufferer either way. Possibly this fact may have existed only in the imagination of some of the spectators, who might have been expecting some extraordinary interposition on behalf of the sufferer.

‡ I visited the same spot a short time afterwards, with Mr. Toy, the mis-

of whom had witnessed the executions, here said that fifty or more Christians had been put to death in this ditch. A few rude, low mounds, marking the spots where by special indulgence the friends of a criminal had been allowed to bury the body, were visible. The lower end of a cross, on which a renowned Sacalava warrior taken in battle had been crucified, was still standing a little to the north, amongst other fragments of the wood of the broken cross.

Altogether the place was dreary and desolate, a veritable Golgotha; but the view of the country around, one of the most extensive, perhaps, in Imerira, glowing with rich red soil, smiling in verdure, brightened by the gleaming surface of the lakes and water-courses, and studded with villages, conspicuous amongst which appeared Nosi-arivo (a thousand islands), the country seat of the sovereign, on the banks of the river Ikiopa. The cattle were grazing on the plains, the people in their white lambas passing along the roads, and the slaves working in the fields, presenting altogether a scene of serenity, harmony, and peace; while in the distance the long line of hills and remoter mountain peaks reflected the gorgeous rays of the declining sun, as they had possibly done to meet the last living gaze of those whose spiritual vision was so soon to behold the paradise of God.

I had looked forward to my first Sunday in Antanarivo with anticipations of more than ordinary pleasure, but owing to a slight attack of fever, I was not able to rise so early as I had intended. About seven o'clock, however, a messenger came to say that the chapel at Analakely had been full ever since daybreak, and that in about an hour the first congregation would leave the place and another would assemble.

A little before nine the son of Prince Ramonja, having heard of my indisposition, brought a palanquin for my use, saying the

sionary, who has gathered a congregation that will meet for worship in the memorial church erected on the high ground, a little to the north of the ditch. Mrs. Toy accompanied us, and I was glad to obtain a photograph of this deeply interesting and hallowed scene.

distance to the chapel was about a mile, and I must not walk so far. The son of Ramonja, with a number of young chiefs, accompanied me, and as we approached the long, low-roofed building, open on the side towards us in which the Christians were assembled, we perceived they were at prayer, and halted. The young chiefs took off their hats and remained standing until the prayer was concluded, when we entered.

On the side opposite the entrance there was a raised space covered with matting, on which was a small table and chair. The latter I was requested to occupy, and I received a most cordial and deeply affecting welcome. The officiating minister then asked me to preside at the service. I directed them to sing a hymn, which they did with very evident feeling. On my right hand the house was filled to the farthest extremity with Christian women, some grey with years, others young persons and children, many of them well dressed, and all decent and becoming both in appearance and demeanour. Around me were the preachers and a number of officers, and on my left was one densely-packed crowd of men; while along the open front were half as many outside as there were within. The females shaded themselves with purple, green, or other coloured umbrellas, while the men stood bareheaded in the sun.

When I looked round on that large assembly as they stood up and poured forth their loud and joyous hymn of praise, and recalled the time when we could only meet, a few together, under the darkness of night, and even then with closed doors and persons to watch the gates, and could only sing in an under tone or sort of whisper; when I further contrasted the air of joyous freedom and conscious security beaming almost in every countenance, with the sorrow occasioned by some mournful loss, or the trembling anxiety and keenly sensitive apprehension of those who were themselves at that former time proscribed, and had their lives given them for a prey, I was filled with wonder and delight; and was not surprised that in the letters I had

received from some of them, when describing their present state they had said, "We are like them that dream."

When the hymn was concluded I offered our thanksgivings to the Most High, and after singing again and reading the 91st Psalm, I addressed the company for a short time, alluding to the past and the present, and the prospect for the future as evidence of our Heavenly Father's care and blessing. I spoke also of His mercy to those who had departed, and to those who could now call upon His name without fear or trouble. One of the native preachers then read, prayed, and delivered a short and encouraging discourse, and the service closed. Joy seemed beaming on every countenance, and amid many Christian greetings the people separated. There did not appear to me less than a thousand persons present, probably more.

The places of worship at Ambatonakanga and Amparibe, in the same neighbourhood, were, when I visited them, equally crowded; and the assemblies gathered appeared to experience the same hallowed and joyful feelings.

While I was conversing with some of the preachers, a man whose child had recently died came to say he wished to have it buried on that day. The preachers asked me what they should do. I said it was not wrong to bury the dead on Sunday, if there was necessity for it, but it was not right to select the Lord's day for funerals, and to delay interments until that day if it could be avoided.

The engagements of my first Sabbath at the capital of Madagascar had deeply affected my own mind, confirming my belief that the work of the Divine Spirit was manifest in the gladdening sights which I had witnessed, and justifying my confidence that the accounts which the Christians had given of the changes amongst the people were not without foundation; while I felt also that prayer for Madagascar had not been offered in vain. There were many who, from what I knew of their past sufferings and blameless Christian lives, and from what I now saw of their humble, joyful feelings, I could not but

regard as sincere disciples of Christ, but who still needed kind, gentle guidance, and watchful care to nurture and strengthen within them the principles of Christian life; while perhaps the greater portion of them had still but faint glimpses of Christian truth and imperfect views of Christian duty.

On the following day, the king's secretary and two or three other young officers came to read with me, in order to improve their knowledge and pronunciation of English. Applications came also from several officers and nobles of the highest rank asking me to teach their sons English, in consequence of which I consented to appropriate two hours daily to this duty. The sister of the prime minister directed her messenger to ask what she was to pay for the instruction of her sons. I replied that I was glad she wished to have them taught; that I did not come to Madagascar to obtain money, but to help them to become intelligent and prosperous in this life, and to seek for happiness in the life to come.

Before the week was over, I had a class of twelve young men and boys, who, so far as earnestness and attention were concerned, made a good beginning. To this number the queen added a motherless little boy, son of the daughter of the first Radama's sister, whom she had adopted, and two other children of whom she was the guardian.

Intercourse with foreigners had long convinced the most intelligent among the people of the great value of a knowledge of reading and writing, which the efforts of the earlier English missionaries had clearly demonstrated their ability to attain; while the manner in which the new sovereign had opened the country to people of other nations, made them feel that a knowledge of other languages besides their own would now be more frequently required. They regretted that the unreasoning hostility to Christianity which marked the last reign had, by shutting up the schools, driving away the teachers, and prohibiting the admission of books into the country, deprived them of all means of improvement; and they eagerly availed them-

selves of my arrival to seek for their sons, some of them already young men, that knowledge of which they themselves felt so much need. More than one of the highest officers in the government told me, that during the greater part of the reign of the late queen they had never seen a book, and they expressed their earnest desire that they also could become my pupils. The king also, when he heard that I was teaching the sons of the nobles, expressed his wish that I would visit him as often as I could for an hour, to converse with him and hear him read English, which he had been for some time attempting to learn. On the same day I visited him after I had dismissed my class, spent an hour in conversation and hearing him read, and then accompanied him to his school, where a number of workmen were still employed finishing some parts of the interior.

The nobles at the capital had kindly welcomed me by presents and friendly messages, and Rainandriantsilavo, the father of the unconquered chief, a noble of the highest class, little more than five- or six-and-twenty years of age, and at that time the only Christian noble connected with the government, was among the first to invite me to his table. On the day appointed for my visit, he sent Ratsimihara, A.D.C. to the chief minister, and an officer who speaks English, to conduct me to his residence, which stands within an enclosure on the western side of the road just outside the palace gate. My host, accompanied by two young chiefs whom I had also previously known, received me kindly as I entered, and I soon found myself amongst a pleasant company of former friends, who had many inquiries to make, and much to tell respecting the changes which had occurred since we had last seen each other.

The dinner was good and well served. Wine was provided, but only water, the general beverage of the Malagasy, was used, and the dessert included some of the best oranges I had ever tasted. Tea and coffee were brought in the course of the evening. The company was Christian, or was considered to be such, and nothing had before exhibited to me, more hopefully for the

future, the extent of the change which had taken place since my former visit, than the perfect absence of all reserve or hesitation among those around me in conversation on religious subjects. The goodness of God was regarded as manifested in the accession of Radama to the throne, by which, it was observed, that God had opened Madagascar to admit the light of the Bible, and was, as remarked by more than one, opening the minds of the people to receive the light. Our host said the late queen had made him keeper of one of the principal national idols, because the office had belonged to his family, and the idol's house was within the same enclosure as his own residence; that he had nominally held the office, but had not been required personally to render any service, and had not volunteered any, as he had ceased to believe in the idols before he believed in the Bible. Many remarks were made about the satisfaction of the people generally, in the capital and its vicinity, on being allowed to rear swine, which they had formerly been forbidden to do, because these animals, as well as garlic and some other common things, were offensive to the idols, and supposed to be polluting to the city. Some amusement seemed to be produced among the younger portion of the company by reported instances of the zest with which some of the former opponents to the admission of pigs seemed now to enjoy a dinner of roast pork.

I was much gratified by the intelligence and desire after knowledge manifested by our host. He expressed himself pleased that his son was one of my pupils. His modesty, gentleness, and self-possession, his address and bearing altogether, with the accounts I had heard of his personal religion, led me to regard him as a valuable member of the Christian community, and much of our conversation related to the influence of Christianity on the future of Madagascar.

One of the native preachers present told me that our host had often shown kindness to the Christians when in concealment and exile, and had sometimes aided in preserving their lives;

that when, on the king's accession, they returned from banishment, he gave them clothing, and even mourning, in order that they might not appear singular at that season, and had in all times of trouble proved a sincere friend to them.

Two books, an English and a Malagasy New Testament lay on the table during the evening, and about nine o'clock we held evening family worship in the dining room, soon after which I retired. As I passed through the court-yard I could not but reflect on the contrast which that evening presented to the many gatherings which had probably taken place within the same walls when the house was an idol-keeper's dwelling.

After dismissing my school, on the following day, I went by appointment to visit the commander-in-chief. At the top of a flight of stone steps, an arched gateway led across a wide court-yard to his dwelling, where I found him in a well and tastefully furnished room, with four of my pupils, his sons and nephews. He inquired about the opinion in England respecting the late changes in Madagascar, and hoped they would encourage more frequent intercourse, as well as confidence and friendship, expressing his hopes that Madagascar would be admitted to friendly relations with other civilised countries. He asked what were the objects of English Christians in again sending missionaries to this country. I said their object was neither political nor commercial, for the missionaries were not allowed to trade, and the English did not want the country; that we came to assist in the enlightenment of the people by education, and the extension of Christianity amongst them; that we only sought permission to occupy so much land as was needful for our dwellings, so long as we might remain, and then for the land to revert to its original owners; that we did not ask that the schools and buildings which might be erected for religious worship should belong to ourselves or the Christians in England, who had sent us, but be secured in perpetuity, or as long as needed, to the Malagasy Christians, who might be associated with us in fellowship and worship. I added, that though religious

teaching was the chief work of the missionaries, they also conferred other benefits on the countries in which they resided, as he himself knew by what had been done by the former missionaries in Madagascar. But I added that a physician and a printer were among those coming out. He said there was abundant evidence of the benefits the country had received in the useful arts the missionaries had taught. He then expressed his regret at the increase of intemperance among the people, and his desire that means might be used to check its progress. Before I left he thanked me for the instruction I was giving to his sons, and on this occasion it was that he remarked that during the whole time he held office under the late queen, he had never had the opportunity of looking into a book, and wished it were possible for him to learn now.

A few days after this interview, I dined and spent the evening with Rainimaharavo (the father of causing delight). He is one of the high nobles, the first officer of the palace, and is now chief secretary of state, as well as chief or head of the guardians of the idols, though he sometimes says his connection with them is official rather than personal. I had met him frequently during my former visit, as he was one of the partizans of the prince. He is a man of middle age, active habits, strong impulses, and considerable force of character. He does not manifest much enthusiasm in the cause of the idols, and, though not a Christian, is friendly to those who are, and has occasionally rendered aid in furtherance of their objects. Two of the preachers were on this occasion amongst the company at his house. His sons were among my first pupils, one of them bidding fair to excel. He talked a good deal about the approaching coronation of Radama and the Queen, which at present occupies the thoughts of the people of Antananarivo, and made many inquiries about the pageant and general proceedings of a coronation in England.

I left about eight o'clock, gratified by the frank and friendly bearing of my host, who, amongst other encouraging assurances,

declared that he was desirous of promoting education, and whatever might tend to the welfare of the people.

As the king, in compliance with my application, had given the places provided by the first Radama to the earlier missionaries for the residence and use of those now expected, I went, in company with two of the leaders of the Christians, to inspect them. The first place, which had included the dwelling-house, school-room, and chapel of Mr. Griffiths, I found, though contracted in dimensions, admirably situated in the principal thoroughfare, in a healthy populous part of the city. The site of the printing-office and the school repository was in every respect a still more valuable place. The house and premises occupied by Mr. Johns, another of the missionaries, were small but healthy, and the house and grounds of Mr. Freeman larger than any missionary family could require or conveniently occupy. All were at the northern end and suburb of the capital, and had been sufficient when the labours of the mission were confined to that end of Antananarivo, but inadequate to the wants of the present time, when the whole city is inviting missionary effort.

The king and the owners sent two officers, with an official appraiser, to determine the value of the buildings and fences which the present occupants had put up on the premises, and which, as soon as it was presented, I paid for, and took charge of the buildings, &c., until the missionaries should arrive.

Before returning, I visited the burial-ground of foreigners, situated not far from the place I had last left. The iron fence had fallen out of repair: the whole place was overgrown with weeds and brushwood. The stones over some of the graves were broken, others had been removed. This, it was reported, had been done by the late queen after the last attack of the English and French on Tamatave. The fence has since been repaired and the ground put in order. This spot is the last resting-place of a French trader, of Mr. Hastie, the first British resident at the court of Radama, of Rev. D. Tyreman, the Deputy of the London Missionary Society, who here closed a long

visit of inspection to the Society's stations in the South Seas and India, in the year 1828, and of Messrs. Hovenden, Brooks, and Rolands, missionaries, as well as of several of the missionary children, and, now more recently, of Mr. Stagg, a member of the present mission.

There were other places and scenes of deep interest which engaged my attention, and which, for reasons already stated, I had no opportunity of closely inspecting during the time of my first visit to the capital. In the early part of one memorable day I had visited the upper portion of the rock at Am-pa-ma-ri-na-na, the place of public execution, on the western side of the city, where, in 1849, fourteen Christian men and women had been hurled over the edge of the precipice on account of their faith. This Tarpeian rock of Antananarivo * is a precipitous part of the western side of the massive hill of granite on which the city is built. The uneven ground stretching eastward of this pile of rock is covered with houses. A narrow path runs north and south along the western edge,† which for above two yards from the outer extremity of the path is bevelled or rounded off, forming a sort of projecting curve. From this the rock bends inwards for a depth of about fifty feet, where it rests upon a lower stratum. This, which projects still further out, is then bevelled or rounded off, curving slightly inwards for a second depth of about fifty feet. Below this, broken masses of rock are heaped up for about the same depth; so that, viewed in profile, the precipice exhibits two successive rounded ledges of rock, with a mass of broken fragments of stone at the base, the whole at least a hundred and fifty or

* It was a place appropriated specially to the punishment of sorcerers.

† Immediately opposite the spot from which the martyrs were thrown, and at a short distance to the eastward of this path, a temporary building has been erected, where a respectable body of Christians, in great part residents in the neighbourhood, meet regularly for worship, under the care of Mr. Briggs. They have their schools also; are exerting a good influence on the surrounding population, and will occupy the memorial church which it is proposed to raise on the spot.

sixty feet below the upper edge. The upper part of the rocky ledge is now overgrown with vegetation, principally with the prickly pear—*Opuntia Ficus indica*—which grows most luxuriantly in the neighbourhood; but at the time when the precipice was used as a place of execution, the rock was said to have been destitute of all vegetation.

When I left the king in the afternoon, I had intimated my wish to see the lower portion of the rock, and as the path was difficult, he kindly sent his palanquin and bearers with me. I was, however, soon obliged to alight, on account of the steepness of the descent and the slippery nature of the face of the rock over which we had to pass. On reaching the ground below, I was struck with the appalling aspect of the place. Large blocks and rugged fragments of granite of different sizes lay confusedly heaped up at the base of the precipice, and must have fearfully broken and mangled the bodies falling from the upper edge. A cluster of peach trees, about twenty feet high, were growing a few yards further to the west, and my companions remarked that when the victims came straight down from the second ledge they fell among the broken stones, but that if they bounded from the ledge they struck the trees and fell amongst them, adding that they were generally killed by the fall.

An involuntary shudder passed over me as I looked up from ledge to ledge, or gazed on the jagged and pointed fragments of granite lying at the foot of the precipice, but it appeared to me more fearfully appalling to look down from the upper edge than from the rocks below. The victims, it is true, could not see any part of the rock beyond the slanting edge on which they stood; but they knew the projections against which they must strike, and the bed on which they would fall. And this was the place at which, on the 23rd of March, 1849, fourteen men and women were hurled down the rock of death, their only crime being their refusal to abjure the name of Christ, and to swear by the idols of the country.

On that deeply blood-stained day, when the people were

gathering to witness the revolting spectacle, one of the high officers of the palace, as he told me in conversation afterwards, said to his companions, "Let us go and see how these Christians behave. They are said not to be afraid to die." And when I asked what effect the executions produced on his mind, he said he could not describe it. "We were near," he said, "and saw all that took place. But the Christians were not afraid, and did not recant."

Few, if any, of the strange and deeply-moving spectacles which Antananarivo has exhibited would be likely to produce a more profound impression upon all classes than those which that day presented. Fourteen men and women of mature intellect, of different rank, and varying in age from twenty years to sixty, including brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, parents and children, had been seized and brought from different parts of the country, had been condemned, and were now led one by one to the narrow edge of this rock of death or life, as they should prove true or false. As they stood on that perilous height, they were promised life if they would by an oath acknowledge the false gods of Madagascar; but to refuse was to be hurled over that fearful verge, and dashed on the rocks below. To this dread proposal no tongue faltered in its answer. It was not that life was not sweet; that the world was not a grand, and beautiful world; that the grain waving in their fields and the cattle grazing on their plains were not treasures to be prized. It was not that the home affections were unknown in their dwellings, for they belonged not to the impoverished or the low-animalised portions of the community, but to the intelligent, and most of them to the class who are well-to-do in the world. The Bible taught them that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," and had inculcated peace and love within their dwellings. It was to yield up all that was dear in this world, rather than deny Christ.

Silently the sacred procession approached, one after another, the last standing-place in this world for them, and with quiet,

humble, divinely-sustained love and trust, they yielded up their lives to Christ their Saviour. The conduct of two of these devoted Christians appears to have left in the minds of the survivors an indelible impression. One, a young, and, according to all testimony, a beautiful woman, whose nearest earthly relative was often my fellow-traveller, and with other members of whose family I had often much Christian intercourse, was so placed as to see the destruction of all her companions, in the hope of terrifying her, so as to induce her to recant. To this she was earnestly persuaded then and there by the officer above alluded to, as he himself informed me, and by her own father. In that trying moment she recommended with affectionate earnestness to her father the Lord Jesus Christ her Saviour. But still remaining constant in her faith, she was then struck on the face by one of the executioners, and sent away as an idiot.

The other, an intelligent and respected man, about fifty years of age, a man loved, honoured, and trusted by the Christians as a chosen leader and faithful friend, esteemed also by the heathen government for his ability and general character, was brought to the fatal edge of the precipice blindfold, as the others had been until they reached the spot. He had refused to take the oath on which present life and earthly honour depended, but asked that the matting bandaged round his head and face might for a few moments be removed. When this was done, he looked down and around, and with clear and steady gaze surveyed the scene below and before him. Perhaps he saw the rainbow which at that hour spanned the arch of heaven. He then paused, as if in prayer, and afterwards turning to the executioner, said, "It is done." Then, as they again bound on the matting, he commenced singing a Christian hymn, the strains of which were heard by the surrounding throng as he was forced over the precipice to be broken on the rocks below. We do not wonder that, according to their own description, astonishment and awe filled the minds of many of the spectators.

But these were only part of the fearful transactions of that

memorable day. The martyrs' rock is near the centre of the west side of Antananarivo. At the north end of the city, a mile and a-half or two miles distant, is Fa-ra-vo-hi-tra (last village), occupying the summit of the hill which rises above An-ala-ke-ly (the little wood). Here, on that same day of cruelty and death, four Christian nobles were burned alive for their fidelity to Christ. The circumstances attending their death have been already narrated, but it may now be stated that the dead and mangled bodies of the other fourteen Christians killed at the precipice were dragged along the ground to Faravohitra, where the four living and the fourteen dead were consumed in one vast pile, which extended over a large space of ground along the western side of the extreme crest of the hill.

The soldiers, under arms, surrounded the place of execution. The excited and exulting heathen rejoiced in the death of the Christians. Reflecting and wondering spectators queried why such suffering was inflicted, and whence the patience it was borne with came. The faithful Christian few who ventured to approach the place, sought unperceived or unrecognised to witness the last moments of their departing friends, and to give, if possible, some token of sympathy and love, while the broad column of flame and smoke from the burning pile, ascending up to heaven, announced to Antananarivo and its suburbs, as well as to the "thousand towns" which, according to the language of hyberbole so pleasant to the Hovas, surround their central mountain city, that the fearful work of violence and death was completed.

CHAPTER III.

Visit of M. Lambert and Madame Pfieffer to Madagascar—Failure of project to change the Government—Departure of the French from Madagascar—Last Persecution—Flight and pursuit of the Christians—Kindness of the heathen towards the fugitives—Stoning to death of the condemned—The field of slaughter—The night after the execution—Search for their remains—Means of identification—Importance attached to funeral obsequies—Banishment in fetters—Barbarous severity of the punishment—Autobiography of one of the martyrs—He makes violins, assists in building the palace, makes a fire-engine, is loaded with irons, seeks and distributes medicine to the sick—The last impeachment of the Christians fatal to their accuser—Recall of the exiles, and removal of their fetters.

WITHIN a year after my departure from the country in 1856, a storm of persecution as fierce and sanguinary as any which they had suffered burst upon the Christians at Madagascar. A plan devised by some foreigners, then at the capital, to set aside the queen, and place the prince upon the throne, coming to the knowledge of the government about the time when this persecution commenced, naturally irritated the queen and increased her hostility against the Christians.

Twelve months before my visit in 1856, M. Lambert, a French trader, or planter, from Mauritius, visited Antananarivo, expressed much sympathy with the Christians, and gave them some relief. He also, with M. Laborde, a Frenchman long resident in the country, entered into a kind of agreement with the prince, to attempt the change above adverted to. In furtherance of this object, M. Lambert had visited France and England, proposing to their respective governments to send out troops to effect this change in the sovereignty of Madagascar. His proposal, however, had been refused, and he had been recommended to seek the improvement of the country by

extending commercial intercourse, rather than by attempting a revolution.

Early in 1857, M. Lambert returned to Antananarivo, accompanied by Madame Ida Pfieffer, whom he had met at the Cape of Good Hope. They were received in a most friendly manner by the government, and although the attempt to obtain force from France or England had failed, Messrs. Laborde and Lambert, in association with the prince, and relying on some of the officers and troops said to be favourable to their object, determined to attempt its accomplishment. It was proposed to seize the palace by a sort of *coup d'état*, arouse the city by the firing of cannon, proclaim the prince king, and force the queen to retire, retaining her titles, her liberty, and the undisturbed possession of all her property.

Before any opportunity occurred for executing this plan, the prince withdrew, and endeavoured to persuade the Frenchmen to relinquish the attempt. But they appear to have thought they might still succeed. At length, a month or so after their first movement in this business, the queen having heard of the proceedings of the French, returned all the presents which M. Lambert had brought out, and sent officers with her orders, declaring that in consequence of their treasonable attempts to change the government, and their having encouraged the Christians, &c., M. Lambert, M. Laborde, and other French gentlemen, the priests, and Madame Pfieffer, were to leave the capital forthwith, under an escort to Tamatave, and were to depart from the country by the first ship. They set out the next morning, but were more than fifty days on the journey, and suffered from the fever, which was probably intended to be part of their punishment.

More than a month before the sentence of expulsion was pronounced against the French, a traitor among the Christians accused a number of them of being Christians, and practising Christian worship.* His name, which he has since changed, was

* The coincidence in point of time between the commencement of the

then Ratsimandisa. He had been educated by the former missionaries, and had associated with the Christians, though I never heard that he had suffered in any of their persecutions. He wrote out a list of the names of the principal Christians in the capital, and gave it to one of the officers to deliver to the queen. The officer, before delivering the paper to the queen, took it to the prince, who instantly destroyed it. The queen was nevertheless soon informed that there were a number of Christians in the capital, and on the 3rd of July, 1857, a kabary was delivered, requiring all who had been guilty of any act of Christian worship to come and accuse themselves, as in such case the punishment might be diminished. Few, if any, did so; a number fled, and the soldiers and others were sent to scour the country in all directions in search of the Christians, whom they were ordered to seize and bring bound to Antananarivo.

All parties testify to the unremitted endeavours of the prince and the commander-in-chief to intercept accusations against the Christians, and prevent the capture of the fugitives. They said that the Christians, if near, fled to the house of the prince, and that when, breathless and palpitating with fear, and ready to sink with exhaustion, they reached his door, he welcomed and encouraged them, saying, "Don't be afraid; take courage; God will protect you; conceal yourselves as well as you can;" and that if he could not give them shelter, he would tell them where they perhaps might find it, endeavouring, if opportunity

movement for dethroning the queen, and the accusation of the Christians, as well as the charge against the French of having held intercourse with the Christians, and encouraged them to adhere to their faith, led me to inquire, not so much among the Christians as among others, some who had themselves not been unacquainted with the proceedings, whether the Christians had been implicated, or had taken any part in the movement; and the result of my inquiries was, that some might have heard or known something about it, but that none took any part, and that the great body of them knew nothing at all about it. It is not mentioned in any accounts I have seen or heard of, as the charge on which they were apprehended, or the offence for which they suffered: it was for engaging in Christian worship contrary to the express prohibition of the queen.

offered, to send their pursuers in the contrary direction, that the Christians might escape.

A large number, notwithstanding, were apprehended, some in the capital, but the greater part among the villages, at their own residences, or in other places where they had sought concealment. They were charged with being Christians, and with offering Christian prayer. In an affecting account furnished to me by the brother of one of them—an active, intelligent, and enterprising man, in good worldly circumstances—it is stated, that when the officer found his retreat, a cavern in the side of a rocky mountain, not far from his dwelling, and told him he must take him as a prisoner, this Christian said, "What have I done? I am not a murderer, nor a traitor; I have wronged no one." The officer replied, "No; it is not for that, but for praying that I must take you." To this the Christian replied, "If that is the impeachment, it is true: I have done that. I do not refuse to go with you."

Similar charges were preferred against all who were denounced to the government, and no one, so far as I heard, when so accused, denied the charge. I was not able to learn the exact number arrested and condemned to different penalties, but they exceeded two hundred, and most of the punishments were extreme. Fourteen were stoned to death at one place, and others afterwards. Fifty-seven were banished in fetters, of whom more than half died. The Tangena, or poison, was administered to about fifty, of whom eight died. Sixteen amongst the large number reduced to slavery were redeemed at high prices; and six devoted leading men among the Christians who were condemned to death, and had effected their escape, remained in concealment until the accession of Radama, a period of four years and six months.*

* The inhabitants of the places to which the Christians fled sometimes connived at their presence, and ministered to their wants, though at great peril to themselves. In 1856, I visited by night one of these men and his family, then in concealment on account of his faith, in a village about eighteen miles from the capital. It was dilapidated, and almost deserted, difficult of access,

This persecution was the most severe and fatal which had yet fallen on the infant Church in Madagascar. Those who were stoned to death suffered at a rocky place called Fiadana, to the west of the south end of the city, and about a mile and a half from the martyrs' precipice and from Ambohipotsy. When the fourteen were taken in broad noonday to the place of execution, Andriamanantena, the honoured Christian leader, whose arrest in the cavern I have already mentioned, offered unto God in those last moments, and before the assembled multitude, a brief but solemn prayer, imploring mercy for their queen and their country, and committing their spirits in love and trust to the hands of their Almighty Saviour. The victims were then bound to the stakes, and the crowds who had been summoned to the scene gathered round to witness or take part in the stoning,—the most revolting, barbarous, and brutalising of all the modes of taking away life. Most of the sufferers soon obtained relief in death, but some, after being apparently dead, revived, and were again battered with stones, or mercifully decapitated; the heads being afterwards fixed on poles.

My heart sickens even now at the remembrance of the hardening and demoralising exhibition presented to the people on the sanguinary day of the stoning to death, as related to me by some of my own servants and others who were spectators, though not Christians then. There were, however, among the crowd some whom affection and sympathy had drawn into fearful proximity with the penalty to which their faith exposed

and the paths within were so intricate and narrow, that it was scarcely possible to pass from one part to another. I was pleased with the uncomplaining trust in the care of their Heavenly Father which these Christians expressed. They said they sometimes wanted food, but not often. They did not beg of me, though there was evidence enough that they were not strangers to want. They did, however, ask for my New Testament, which I cheerfully left with them; and while I was gratified by their apparent cheerful reliance on Divine care, what I heard of the dangers of some, and the sufferings of others, together with the evidence I had of the privation, and constant liability to surprise, with the consequent apprehension of torture or death, did not allow me to doubt the strength of their convictions, or the sincerity of their faith.

them. These men marked the exact spots were friends and loved ones were bound, battered, and fell; and when night and darkness covered the scene, and while hungry dogs held carnival there, they stole in silence, equipped with heavy clubs, or poles, and carrying large matting sacks, to the bloody field, groped among the slain for the bodies, but especially the heads, of their friends. Driving away the dogs from their prey, they put the bodies into the sacks which they had brought, bore them away to the nearest Christian dwelling, and then hastened back to recover more of the mortal remains of those who had that day fallen, in love, and trust, and loyalty to Christ.

Towards the eastern end of that same plain was a lowly Christian dwelling. It stood in a garden overgrown with sheltering trees, surrounded by a wall within a small and narrow ditch or fosse, over which on the east side was a single plank, leading to the one narrow stone-built gateway. Within this only entrance was a thin circular granite slab, which, when rolled against the aperture, and fixed by upright stones within, formed a door which could not be forced from without, but which, when pushed aside within admitted free passage either way. The crowds drawn to Fiadana to witness, as a holiday spectacle, the executions, had returned to their homes. The excitement of the scene had somewhat subsided, but there were deep ponderings in many hearts. The thousand lights which illuminate the evening meal of the Tananarivoan households had gleamed along the sides of the city-covered hill, and the booming of the evening gun had afterwards collected the inhabitants within their respective dwellings, and closed all doors and extinguished all lights in that city of a thousand towns. But in that lowly hidden Christian dwelling a dim lamp still glimmered, and two Christian females sate in silent sorrow or in voiceless prayer on its matted floor. One in middle life, the wife of a strong-built man who had gone forth to battle for the bodies of his friends, the other no common woman, approaching now the evening of her days—that morning the wife, now the

Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis.

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PORTRAITS OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

Martyr's Widow, who identified the remains.

Christians who searched for the bodies of the Martyrs.

widow of the heroic man who, when accused of worshipping the Saviour, admitted the act without equivocation, accepting the consequences, and who spent his last breath in praying for those who had decreed his destruction.

No soothing voice of human sympathy broke the solitude of that lonely hour as these two women sate listening for the sounds of coming footsteps, and for the concerted signal to roll the stone from the door, and admit the welcome burden which husband and friend had gone forth to seek—the bruised and mangled bodies of those by whom the rod of the oppressor would be felt no more, and who had that day sealed their testimony for Christ with their blood. The precious remains when found were brought and laid on the matted floor, and the bearers hurried back to seek for more, while darkness favoured their work of love. The heroic women received with reverence the mangled body, or the severed head, washed the marred visage, and then carefully placed the mutilated remains on clean matting, covering them over with rush or leaf-woven cloth, until they could be taken by their friends, and at last find a resting-place among the graves of their ancestors.*

The remains of others dear to survivors were also likewise sought, obtained, and decently buried.† Most of the sufferers

* The accompanying plate contains the portraits of the widow of Andriamanantena, and the husband of the female friend associated with her in identifying the heads or bodies of the slain, and one of the Christians who brought away the remains in matting sacks.

† Great importance is attached to funeral obsequies by all classes in Madagascar, not only on account of that instinct common to all mankind, which extends affection beyond the grave, and finds satisfaction in prolonging its exercise to the latest possible period; but in consequence also of their own peculiar superstitions, which lead them to believe, as more ancient nations have done, that their performance of the rites of sepulture in this world affects the condition of the departed in the next; that the spirits of those who have died are in a state of unrest until funeral dues are discharged, and that the departed spirits will visit and distress the survivors by whom these rites are neglected. Thus, the dread of penal death is increased by the law forbidding the rites of sepulture to all on whom death is inflicted as a punishment. In general, the bodies of such are, in Madagascar, left on the ground to be de-

were men above the ordinary class of their countrymen, not in rank, possessions, and authority, but in character, ability, and influence. Their wives, with scarcely an exception, were involved in the same condemnation, though their punishment was different. Some were sentenced to drink the tangena, an ordeal of poison, but the greater number to be loaded with fetters. Sixteen were so bound on the day after the executions at Fiadana. Fifty more, at least, were so punished.

I brought home with me some of the fetters fixed on the bodies of the Christians at this time. The ring round the neck is composed of a rugged piece of iron, six inches in diameter, passed through an aperture at the end of a heavy bar of iron, nearly three feet long. The ring was bent round the neck of the Christian, and fastened by a large rivet. Two other rings, somewhat less ponderous, were fixed in the same way, one on each ankle, the weight of the whole being more than fifty-six pounds.*

Loaded with these fetters, the Christians were sent away to

voured by dogs and birds of prey. The interment of the body of a criminal is exceptional, and it is regarded as an act of clemency on the part of the government towards the survivors to allow them to remove and to inter the corpse of a malefactor.

* These irons are fixed by the government smiths, who lay the prisoner on the ground, take the bar of iron, bent into the shape of a ring so far as to allow the neck to be slipped in between the ends of the ring, or they pass the unclosed ring over the head, then bend the ends together on a low anvil placed on the ground, until the ends overlap each other, and can be fixed by the rivet. The process is often tedious work with their tools, and must be attended with great pain. Judgment in this case is certainly not tempered with mercy, or instead of bending a heavy bar of iron, by hammering it together on an anvil, with a man's neck inside the ring they are forming, they would forge an iron collar with a hinge on one side, even if they had a rivet instead of a lock on the other. I never saw any irons fastened on, though many were sentenced to wear them while I was at the capital: and I recollect distinctly hearing, for two successive days, the ring and the clang of the hammers on the anvils where, I was told, irons were being put on prisoners; and one chief from the west, I was told, when all he was to wear had been fixed, earnestly begged the officer on duty to grant that he might be put to death, so impossible did it seem to him to endure the torture they occasioned.

Drawn by Mrs. Ellis.

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CONSOLATION TO A CHRISTIAN IN CHAINS.

Fetters Drawn from those in Mr. Ellis's possession.

distant parts of the country where the fever prevailed, in order that the pains of the fever might be added to the torture of their fetters, and that the gradual approach of death might be rendered more physically agonising to themselves, and more appallingly terrible to others. One party of them went to Ambohibohazo, a hundred miles distant to the east; another party were sent to the north-east, to Ambatondrazaka, in the country of the Antsianaka; another to the west, on the borders of the Sacalava country; and some were sent to the south. The irons were not put separately on each individual, but the Christians were fettered together, like felon gangs of five, or seven, or more, and thus chained they were sent to distant parts to die. The irons were never to be removed. When death released a victim—and many of them died before the first twelve months were passed—the soldiers in charge of them ruthlessly cut off the head, and slipped the ring over the neck of the corpse, and then cut off the feet, and slipped off the ring from the ancles, leaving the corpse either to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey, or buried by some attendant or friend. But this cutting off the head and feet was a kindness, for sometimes, when one of them died, there was no one to separate the dead from the living.

The ring which I brought home had been worn round the neck of an eminent Christian. His father was a Christian, and died in chains. Two of his sisters also were Christians, and they died in a similar manner. His brother also wore such fetters for four years, and through the mercy of God survived, the only one out of a whole family of martyrs who lived through the ordeal. I have seen some of these surviving sufferers, helpless, emaciated, bedridden, with scars and wounds in their flesh, but with peace, hope, joy, glory in their souls. I never heard from them a single expression of vindictive feeling, or of any wish for evil to come to those who had inflicted all this torture upon them. They might have averted all this suffering in the beginning, if they would have renounced the name of Jesus

Christ, and they would have been clothed with honour, enriched with gifts, and raised to distinction. At any period of their sufferings, at any hour, they might, on these conditions, have been instantly relieved; but they refused relief at such a price. They suffered on and on, month after month, and year after year, until death brought them deliverance, "enduring as seeing Him who is invisible," and "not accepting deliverance," that they might obtain a better and more glorious resurrection.

I have many deeply interesting accounts of those who suffered in this and in the earlier persecutions in Madagascar; among them an autobiography of one who was my daily and most pleasant companion during my first visit to Antananarivo, and who was one of the distinguished witnesses for Christ who suffered in this last and severest ordeal. It was written, and sent to me a very short time—only two months—before the writer was arrested, condemned, and executed for his faith, and before I received the record he left of the path along which he travelled to his life's early close. I prized the record when it came to hand, but its value was increased when I saw his name among those who had suffered at Fiadana; and my estimate of his exemplary character has not been diminished by what I have heard of him during my last residence in Madagascar.

The use of my camera was not only an occasional relief to me amidst severer duties, but, as I had hoped, was the means of enabling me to afford gratification to others in connection with the progress of Christianity in Madagascar; and not the least valued treasure among my Malagasy photographs is the likeness of this amiable and beloved man, whose portrait I was able to secure, as early as daylight permitted, on the morning of the last day I spent at the capital, in the year 1856.

My more intimate acquaintance with Rainitsontsoraka commenced at the above-mentioned period with the application for

medical aid on behalf of an afflicted Christian chief,* who was brought to my house every morning in his palanquin to receive such attention as I could give. He was accompanied by two intelligent men, one Ratsimihara, an officer, who spoke English tolerably well, and was connected with the chief, the other the subject of this account. Both had obtained some little knowledge of the use of medicine from medical gentlemen who had for a short time sojourned at the capital. These two Malagasy attendants washed and dressed the wounds of the chief with much gentleness and kindness, and the latter was inquisitive and anxious to increase the little knowledge he had picked up relative to the properties and use of the more common English medicines.

Besides meeting with Rainitsontsoraka on these occasions at my house in the daytime, he was frequently among the little band who gathered in my inner room in the concealment of night, and I could not but notice that he was treated with much affection and esteem by his fellow Christians. I left with him and his companion all the medicine I had, and at his own earnest request I left also a medical book—Thomas's Practice of Physic.

The subjoined reminiscences of Christian life in Madagascar for the space of nearly forty years, which I have translated almost verbatim, is evidently genuine, and is to me extremely valuable, as showing the class of men among whom Christianity has very largely prevailed. They are for the most part intelligent, reflecting, ingenious, enterprising men. Their skill and cleverness has often made the government anxious to spare them in times of severe persecution. This record is valuable also as showing the spirit and the manner in which suffering for Christ has been endured.

The account was addressed to David Johns Andrianado, a Malagasy Evangelist, employed by the London Missionary

* This chief, though a relation of one of the queen's ministers, was also stoned to death at Fiadana.

Society among his countrymen at Mauritius, and by him it was forwarded to me. It is dated Antananarivo (about) 21st of May, 1857.*

"These are the circumstances of us (two) brothers in the country of Madagascar, in the work and service to which we have been appointed, and the portion or lot we have borne in the affliction (persecution) here.

"While we were children, we were left fatherless, and had to work at making spades to obtain our food and clothing. In the year 1834, we were cultivators of the soil (non-military) with Ravelonarivo, and we became dekans (a sort of attendants or dependants, but not slaves) of Rainimaharo, one of the ministers of Ranavalo, in 1836. This was the first work we did for the noble or chief, to tell to the queen we, the two brothers, thought that we would make a foreign violin; complete it in the country; and we made one. And when it was done, we showed it to Rainimaharo, and he told the queen; and there was a law that (such a thing) was not to be made in the kingdom. And when the queen saw that the violin had been completed, she collected the officers, all above the eleventh honour, to tell them that a violin made in their houses had been given to her; and she fined the servants that had made it. Each had to pay the queen three dollars and a half (about fourteen shillings). And the knowledge how to make them was counted part of our service;† and whatever work was required of us by the queen,

* It is difficult to reduce Malagasy to English time with precision, as the Malagasy year consists of twelve months of twenty-eight days each, twenty-eight additional days being divided among the twelve, and the calendar being adjusted every year, so that the festival of the new year occurs at the time of the new moon.

† This part of the narrative illustrates the theory, and the application of the theory, of the Malagasy government—that the sovereign is the absolute owner of everything in the country. Thus the persons, property, time, labour, acquirements and skill, of every one belongs to the sovereign, is to be employed as the sovereign wills, and for his benefit, so that whatever a man is, and has, is government property, and its use *fanompoana*, or government service. Every invention is government property, and subjects the inventor to a fine if made contrary to law, and he would not be allowed to use it for his own

by the officers, or their friends, or for the kingdom, we did, and sent our work to them. And we collected tools, and we two brothers determined in our hearts to do with the utmost of our ability and diligence whatever service or work might come to us, and we prayed to God that such work might be accomplished by us.

"In the year 1839, in the tenth month, Alakarabo, the queen commenced building a house, and ordered Raniharo, commander-in-chief (father of the late and present holder of that office), to send the people to fetch branches of trees from the forest; and because there were not sufficient, to fetch in (branches) of the trees planted in the gardens, and hedges, or fences, to make a high pile (or stack) to raise up the head of the corner timbers from the first to the last. And on the Tuesday, after one week, when we were raising the post at the north-east corner, we fastened the crane, and had raised the timber about two feet above the ground, but the branches of the trees, tied up in bundles, were pressed down, and the faggots did not bear it up,*

benefit without the government permission. Thus all skilled labourers,—smiths, carpenters, masons, even writers and others, are government servants, and can only engage in their kind of work for themselves or others when the government has nothing of the kind for them to do, and allows them to do it. In this instance, the queen was not averse to music, nor displeased that a violin had been made, but because there was a law that none should be made, perhaps to secure the use of violins to the palace, the makers were first fined for doing so, and then ordered to make them for the officers and members of the royal family, as part of their service to the government. The royal prerogative was sometimes exercised with a degree of caprice that was most strange and cruel. On one occasion the silversmiths were ordered to make a silver vase after an European pattern. When finished, the queen not being pleased with it, ordered them to make another, and the workmen, profiting by experience, produced a better vase, but, instead of being rewarded, they were punished, because they had not made the first so well as she now saw they could have done.

* It was the great palace, standing in the centre and highest part of the capital, and visible twenty miles on every side, that the queen now began to build. It would justly be considered a noble and wonderful building in any country. As I shall have occasion to speak of it more at length hereafter, it may be sufficient to remark, that the customs of their ancestors require the Hovas to commence the building of a house by fixing, with many ceremonies,

and the crane and the lever did not act, and the handle slipped or broke, and of those that raised it up eight men were wounded and two were killed.

"And when the queen and the officers saw the dead, they were (*very hevitra*) lost their thought or senses, on account of the weight of the timber. Then we, by the favour of God, saw or perceived an idea by which to accomplish this work of the queen. First I made a model or pattern in wood of a crane, with teeth to it, like the pointed iron teeth of a saw, to hold it well, so that the lever should not slip, or give way. And at four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, I exhibited the model to Rainimiharo, and he showed it to the queen. And when she saw that what was raised could not slip back, because of the teeth of the crane to hold it, the queen told the officers to give iron to the smiths to make it. Fifty old worn-out spades, and a hundred lumps of new iron, were sent to them at Amparibe, the place of the government smitheries. And when it was finished, the whole people (were summoned) to set the pillar up —the farmers, and all the non-military class, and the soldiers. The relations of the sovereign were the overseers of the work.

"These are the numbers of the troops that were brought for the work:—8,000 from Avaradrano, division north of Antananarivo; 6,000 from Isisaony, south of Antananarivo; 2,500 from Imarovatana, west of Antananarivo; 2,500 from Ambodirano, south-west of Antananarivo; 7,000 from Vonezongo, west and north beyond Marovatana; 8,000 from Vakinankaratra, south-west beyond Isisaony, eighty or ninety miles from the capital.

"And the non-military inhabitants of the six divisions of Imerina, with all the members of the royal family, came to take part in this work. It was Tuesday when this pillar was raised,

the post at the north-east corner. The corner pillars of this palace are round, and their height from the surface of the ground to the wall-plate or spring of the verandah, is fifty-four feet; the diameter at the base is above three feet; but they are cased. Whether the pillar is in one spar, or joined, I do not know, but it could be no small weight which they were attempting to raise.

for it took one week to set it up. When this pillar was fixed upright, the people were then all dismissed.'

"The smiths then worked a whole month in making two cranes, and when they were done, all the people were called together again to raise the remaining three corner pillars, and the upright timbers all round. The three corner pillars were raised in one day with two cranes. And when the queen saw that the people had hastened the work, and that the four corners were fixed, she dismissed them to their homes, excepting the smiths and the carpenters, and by these five or six side timbers or divisions were sometimes raised in one day. On the twenty-fifth of the month Alohotsy, the sides, and the rooms above, as well as the partitions, were finished, and then the four sides were united. And the people that were occupied on the remaining parts continued their work until it was finished.

"And in the year 1839, Rainiharo bargained for a pump or engine to put out fire (a fire-engine), with M. Laborde, for the queen. M. Laborde wanted a thousand dollars for it, but Rainiharo would not give more than five hundred dollars, and the owner of the engine would not take that; then he (Rainiharo) fetched us two brothers to look (peep at) or examine the fire-engine, and when we had looked at it he said, 'Can you make one like that? for if you can do that, you will promote the good of the kingdom; and if you cannot do it, no blame shall attach to you.' Then we asked him to give us smiths and carpenters, and he gave us six smiths and four carpenters. We then prepared tools and materials, and made it; and in 1840, when the engine was finished, we took it to the queen. She examined it at Anteza, near Andohalo, with delight, saying that the finishing of it had been progress made in the kingdom.

"In 1845 there was examination made into our state and proceedings, as Christians, and then came persecution. The beginning of that persecution was thus. There was a gathering of Christians at Ramanankoraisinas (home), and his slave saw it, and told his father and mother, and great intimidation was

used by the officers to ascertain who were present, and the names of all who entered were written down and told to the queen. Then Ramanandray Andriamanantena, my brother Rainimanga and myself, and Andriantsanelo, with Andrihamiaja, were arrested by Tsitialangia,* and they bound us, and an attendant had charge of each one of us. At that time eight Christians were subjected to the ordeal of the Tangena, but one only, viz., Andriamahandry, died.

"And in the year 1849, on the ninth day of the month, which was Sunday, the sentence on us six men was pronounced. Our wives and children were to be valued and sold.† Our property, even to the needles, was taken: nothing was left. And when it was thus with us two brothers, Rakotond Radama (the young Radama) said (to Rainiharo), 'It is enough. Let them be mine, for you have had some already.' But Rainiharo said, 'I redeem the children. Let them be with me.' And there was a dispute between them that day; and when the appraisement was made it was decided that we two brothers should belong to my former master, and the rest of us to other high officers. They fetched the money at which we had been valued from Prince Rakotond Radama and Prince Ramonja to pay our masters, in order that we might be transferred to them; and then a law was made that we should never be redeemed, and our masters by law possessed us,‡ and we were not transferred to any other. Through the blessing of God that was secured.

* Literally, *the hater of lies*. This is a large silver spear, the shaft and head being both of silver. It is carried by the officer of justice, or rather of the judges sent to arrest any persons accused of crimes; and to offer any resistance to the parties bearing the spear would be regarded as a defiance of supreme and even divine authority. The officer, on arriving at a house, sometimes fixes the spear in the doorway, and no one would dare to enter or leave till it was removed.

† When the Christians were sentenced to slavery, they were generally divided among the high officers of government.

‡ The prince and Ramonja having paid for them, they were legally their slaves, and that was the best protection they could have, for both these princes were friends to the Christians.

"Six months later in the same year, persecution arose again, and the Christians were seized by the bearer of the *hater of lies*. Those that were surprised in the house were bound, and all the people quaked and trembled with fear. Those that concealed themselves were saved, the rest escaped, but were ordered to accuse themselves. There was a spy, a brother of Rainiharo, called Rafiringagoay, who saw into the house where they were assembled, and told the names of all that he knew, sixty-four, and many accused themselves. Because of the weakness of the flesh they did that, and we eight brethren who had been now twice enslaved, were loaded with many fetters and imprisoned. But after two years our confinement ceased, and we brothers went home.

"After this, false reports about the Christians were brought to the queen again, and those who had been bound together with us in prison were loaded with additional chains, and four were sent to Tsifalahy, a place among the Sacalavas, but we four brethren were kept in chains.

"On account of the numerous ways or kinds of occupation in the land of the queen, I considered, and I asked God what I should do that I might learn to dispense medicines, and I translated a book about administering medicine, which Dr. Tavel left for those whom the queen sent to learn at Ambodinandohalo. It was in 1852 that I was learning about medicine. When, by the help of God, I was able, I bought some medicine, and took it to heal those that were sick. By the blessing of God, many of the sick who came were healed, and also many of the poor, who had nothing to pay, to whom I took the medicine in pity. Many were thankful for the medicine of the Europeans, and from my desire, and through the blessing of God, I had strength to visit the sick, such as I found every day, and those I met at noon in the streets of Antananarivo.

"The severity (against the Christians) was relaxed in 1855, and on the ninth of the month Adaoro of that year, at the ceremony of the circumcision, the heavy chains were taken off us

two brothers,* and we were able to visit many more who were sick. When Mr. Ellis came in the next year, he brought medicine, and gave some to Ratsimihara and me, and we two agreed to use the medicine; and when there was more than ordinarily strong disease which I did not understand, I looked in the books of medicine which Mr. Ellis left with us, and five hundred and thirty-six people among the Christians were healed, and the number of the others (who were healed) we sent to you. And when, by the blessing of God, that medicine was increased, great was the joy of the Prince Rakotond Radama on account of the healing of the people, and he gave me some little boys, slaves, to assist me in that work of compassion.

"This is the state of the work of the Lord with me, which I make known unto you, beloved brother; and all the friends here visit you. May you live, and have happiness, saith RAINITSONTSORAKA and his brother."

Such were some of the indications of the gentleness and benevolence of spirit, and such are a few of the incidents in the life, of one among the exemplary and remarkable men who suffered in the last fearful persecution in Madagascar. Only one public execution in connexion with religion has since taken place, and it was in favour of the Christians.

In June, 1860, the governor of Mananjara, a port on the south-east coast, accused and bound two officers of rank, Andri ambanda, tenth honour, deputy commandant, and Ratefe, the present governor of that port, together with thirty-three soldiers, for violating the law of the queen by acts of Christian worship. The accused and accusers were summoned to the capital. The queen decreed that the guilt or innocence of the

* Criminals are not always confined in prison, but are often allowed to go out, sometimes to beg, sometimes to work with their chains on, returning at appointed hours to the prison to sleep. They are frequently met with in the streets in the middle of the day, and it was thus that, until this time, Rainitsontsoraka went about visiting the sick, and giving medicine to those he met in the street or visited in their huts.

Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis. Page 74.

RAINITSONTSORAKA.

Christian Martyr.

accused should be decided by the ordeal of the Tangena, which, according to a custom sometimes followed, was judicially and officially administered in the following manner. Three female slaves of the queen vicariously represented the accused. The slaves were pronounced innocent by the ordeal. The queen then ordered the Tangena to be administered to a dog. The dog also survived; the accused were consequently pronounced innocent. By a rude kind of justice existing sometimes in such states of society, the governor of the port was sentenced to the punishment which would have been inflicted upon those whom he had accused had they been proved guilty, and he was put to death. This was the last impeachment against the Christians in Madagascar.

Before closing my notice of this persecution, I may perhaps be allowed to advert to the circumstances of the survivors of the slaughter at Fiadana. The widow and children of Rainitsontsoraka were among the earliest of those who came to tell me of the constancy of the departed, as well as of their own sad bereavement. They were always welcome for his sake, as well as for their own need of sympathy and encouragement. A number of the survivors of that fearful period are widows and fatherless, or orphans. The king restored, wherever he could, the confiscated plots of rice ground which had supported their former occupants, but multitudes still remained, not only bereaved, but very poor. An unusual proportion of men who possessed small properties, and were in comparatively comfortable circumstances, were then cut off, and their wives either put in chains or sold into slavery, while their possessions were seized and divided among the officers. If those sentenced to slavery were redeemed, it was generally with borrowed money, which is still a heavy debt upon some of the Christians.

Kind friends in England had confided to my care articles of useful clothing, which were truly serviceable; but after conferring with the preachers and others best acquainted with the

actual condition of the people, I felt it right, as an expression of sympathy on the part of English friends with their sufferings, to give a small sum of money for their benefit. Two preachers whom I consulted supplied me with a list of the most necessitous cases, and distributed the money, about £30, with care and judgment, chiefly amongst the widows and children of the martyrs, but not excluding other necessitous Christians. They did not give more than a dollar to any individual, and in the majority of cases a smaller sum, bringing me a carefully prepared list of the names of the recipients, a hundred and ninety in number, by whom the trifling sum was gratefully received as much because it came from their friends as for the relief it might afford.

Selfishness, no doubt, exists among these as among other communities. It is, however, concealed, and not commended. The claims of family and neighbourhood are very generally recognised. The Malagasy are a hospitable people. I often noticed a kindness of feeling, and a readiness to assist and relieve each other among the Christians, which was very gratifying. Yet the number of sick and aged persons, unable to work, and wholly dependent upon friends, often poor themselves, necessarily causes their poverty to be keenly felt.

I have already mentioned the early recall, by the king, of the survivors of those who had been banished for undiscovered crimes of the past, which had been acknowledged in obedience to the order, and in reliance on the clemency of the queen. The restoration of those Christians who, after having been sentenced to death on account of their faith, had escaped, and had remained for years exiles and wanderers, was not much longer delayed. For such fugitives, the houses of the prince and the commander-in-chief had at times furnished shelter and safety, and on the present occasion, very soon after the accession of the king, an aide-de-camp of the commander-in-chief was sent to fetch six who had long been hiding in different places, four of whom were esteemed preachers. They were

brought first into the house of the commander-in-chief; he spoke kindly and encouragingly to them—told them not to be afraid, for Radama was king—and directed them to go to their homes and their relatives, for now no injury would come to them. One of them was said to have been so blanched as to be almost as white as an European.

As they passed through the streets, their countrymen crowded to look at them. The report of their return created quite a sensation, and greatly astonished the people then assembled in great numbers in the capital to attend the funeral of the queen. Most of the Christians knew that they were living, but other portions of the people supposed them long since dead. And numbers came to see them, some saying, "We thought you had long ago been buried, or eaten by the dogs, and when we heard we could hardly believe it was you. It is like coming again from the dead." And some added, "Great is the power of God!"

Messengers were also sent to the survivors of those Christians who had been bound in heavy fetters, and on the 1st of September, two days after the funeral of the queen, a number of these sufferers were brought to the capital, and their fetters were taken off. Others followed as they were able; they were too weak to walk, and were borne up or carried by their friends.

On my arrival, ten months after this, I found some of them feeble, wasted, bedridden sufferers; yet to them and to their friends this return was indeed a jubilee, but a jubilee kept with tears and with touching memories of the absent. To some it was like coming to their Christian home and friends to die: to others it was to live, and to rejoice in the free course of the Gospel in their country. Some few of them have never regained any amount of robust health, but remain sickly and feeble.

Anxious to take advantage of the existing state of feeling to draw the attention of the people to the Gospel, six of the native preachers, including four who had just returned from exile, applied to the king for places in which to gather the

people for public worship. He gave them a large carpenters' shop belonging to the government, at Analakely, and the houses at Ambatonakanga, the site of one of their former chapels, and also a place at Amparibe; but as Ramboasalama's house was near, and some of the places belonged to him, the king directed them to ask him. They therefore applied to Rasoaray, his wife, who promptly gave them the place.

These places were soon fitted up by the Christians, and before the end of the month were used for purposes of worship. The first public assemblies thus gathered were objects of interest to many of the people; while to the Christians these seasons produced deep and indescribable feelings, when, to use the expression of one of them, they could in open day "sing together the praises of the God of the Christians."

CHAPTER IV.

Required confession of crimes—Cruel reward of confidence—Ideas of a strong government—Rival aspirants to the throne of Madagascar—Portents of coming change—Malagasy account of the sickness and death of the queen—Accession of her son to the throne—Radama's address to the people—Homage of the royal family and the nobles—Administration of the oath of allegiance—Rejoicing among the people—Funeral of the late queen—Public mourning, cutting off the hair—Clemency of the king towards his rival—Recall of the exiles—Proclamation of religious freedom—Restoration of confiscated property—Abolition of custom-house duties and freedom of trade—Liberation and restoration of all slaves and captives taken in war—The bones of the dead sent to their own lands for interment—Happy results of these proceedings—First communion in Antananarivo—Preaching at the king's house—No evidence that the king is a Christian—His inquiry why the martyrs were obliged to die—Increase of intemperance—Wild honey.

THE sufferings of the Christians were not the only calamities which afflicted the people of Madagascar. Declining years had not softened the heart of the queen, nor had sickness and the feebleness of age rendered her less disposed to harass and destroy her subjects.

I was informed that not very long before her last illness she had sent a kabary to the people, stating, that if any of them had committed any crime and it was found out they should be put to death; but that if they came and acknowledged it within a specified time, their lives should be spared; and so strong was their opinion that the queen had means of discovering crime, that a considerable number came, and acknowledged to having committed some offence, perhaps a theft, or some other violation of the law, committed in many cases two or three years before. When the time for this opportunity of voluntary confession expired, the queen sent another kabary, stating that, according to her promise, the people's lives should be spared,

but that all who had been guilty of any beyond trivial offences, should have an iron collar fastened on their necks, and be banished to insalubrious parts of the country, often only to a more slow and painful death than by the spear, the precipice, or the stake.

This requiring voluntary confession of undiscovered crimes was called a purging, or cleansing of the community, and was often made the occasion of very cruel oppression. The prince, I was told, wept when he saw how many were entrapped by this device; and when, as it was stated, on the day of his accession, the young king ordered their recall, scarcely half the number were living or able to return.

So long as the queen lived the people were under constant apprehension of the infliction of some cruelty or wrong; and in the opinion of the authorities of that day, this was considered evidence of true greatness—the proof of a strong government. To be able to reduce the people to such a state of abject fear, that they should tremble at the bare thought of in any way displeasing the sovereign, however unreasonable such displeasure might be, was deemed by the ruling powers a high and envied attribute. This was the state of the people then, and the only prospect of any relief arose from the hope that, on the death of the queen, her son might succeed to the throne. Until this actually occurred, however ardently it might be desired, no one felt certain that it would take place. But although it was the event to which natives and foreigners interested in Madagascar looked forward as that which would go far to decide the future of the country, its occurrence was doubtful. There was a rival claimant of the throne, a cousin of the queen's son, the head and favourite of the party who sought to perpetuate things as they were.

The adherents of each aspirant were sanguine of success. Many considerations favoured the Prince Ramboasalama, the rival of Rakotond Radama. He was the next in rank, being the son of the queen's sister. He had been appointed successor to

the throne before the queen herself became a mother. He was the head of the party who adhered to the customs of their ancestors, who deemed the existing system incapable of improvement, opposed all innovations, and supported the idols and the priests. He was an active, unscrupulous, and determined man; and moreover he was rich, and could hire or bribe adherents to any extent, and was said to have used his money freely.

The prince, on the contrary, was poor, never having had much money allowed him by his mother, and being, besides, no miser. He had been too young to take much part in the government, and had only filled subordinate offices. He had made no secret of his disapproval of its policy, and of his opinion that change in some respects might be made with advantage. He had neither belief in the idols, nor confidence in the priests. He was friendly to education, hospitable to foreigners, and favourable to all that promised improvement; while he pictured to himself a future in which his country should attain a higher position, and be recognized by civilized nations. These circumstances would array against him the power of the then existing government. On the other hand, in his favour was the queen's own formal public appointment of her son to be her successor. According to Malagasy rule, which traces pedigree through the mother, his title was unimpeachable and supreme, and whatever influence she could exert was used to secure the throne for him. Whenever her ministers complained of his disregard of her orders, she used to say:—"He is only a youth; and he is my son." The only genuine feelings of humanity which the queen ever manifested were exercised towards him, and whatever spark of affection warmed her heart was kindled by him. He was unselfish, generous to a fault, instinctively abhorrent of cruelty and bloodshed, the advocate, the friend, the helper of the poor. To the latter, and to the great body of the people, the existing régime had been strong, oppressive, and hopeless, the most destructive of human life which had perhaps ever existed in the country. The interests involved, the

extreme contrast which the accession of one or the other of these claimants to the throne would produce, together with the appearance of two comets, and certain other portents, which they deemed supernatural and intimating the approach of some unusual event, created anxiety and restlessness among all classes, as the failing health of the queen indicated the approach of the inevitable change.

I received a number of accounts, written and verbal, of the occurrences connected with the queen's death and her son's accession. The subjoined statement, written by a partially educated young man, the son of a man of office in the city, which was sent to me at Mauritius, is perhaps the most authentic and complete. It is as follows :—

"On the 12th of April, 1861, there was an appearance of fire from Ankemiheny extending to above Ranofotsy, and unto all the mountains. When the people in the country round saw the fire, they kindled fires near their dwellings, for they said, 'Perhaps the queen has bathed again,'* for to those in the country this light appeared as if it was in the capital, and to those in the capital it appeared as if in the country. There were also sounds or voices like music coming up from Isotry (the site of the tomb of the late prime minister) to Andohalo (the daily market, distant a mile and a half); and when the people heard the sound, they came to look, but nothing was seen, only sound was heard; and it was a pleasant sound, though making sad, for it was the end of the year.

"It was in fararano, or Autumn, and about seven o'clock in the evening, when this fire was seen, and it lasted for an hour. Next morning, the queen inquiring, said, 'What fire was that last night? Do you kindle fires again before the feast of the

* At the annual bathing festival at the commencement of the year, it is customary, in connection with the bathing of the sovereign, for a fire to be lighted to announce this fact to the people, who then light fires: thus following the sovereign in observing the customs of the feast; and on this occasion, the people in the country around, seeing the light or fire, supposed it was connected with the bathing of the queen.

new year?' And the attendants answered, 'We kindled no fires.' The people were all astonished and afraid, and kindled fires for they thought the queen had been bathing. And when the queen heard that she said to the heads of the people, 'What fire is this?' And they answered, 'This is not the fire of man, but of God.' And some said, 'It is to increase the kingdom of the sovereign.' Then the queen inquired again of the judges and heads of the people, saying, 'What is it thought this fire is?' Then said those whom she questioned, 'From Adrianampoinimerina, (ancestor of the present dynasty,) and Prince Ramahatra, like a foreshadowing of coming death. Like that, for it is small, yet not like that, for it was over the water, and the rice, and valleys and hills, although it was not high nor low.'*

"And from that day forward the queen prayed earnestly to the idols, the objects of her trust, for she was afraid. And there was an officer who said to the prince, 'This fire is a jubilee, to gather together the dispersed, and to redeem the lost.' And the hearts of those who heard that, were deeply affected. And the queen soon after became ill, and a month later took a journey, for change of air, to a reputed healthy place. But when she returned the people were grieved because she was thin, and wasted; and she went out again for a charm, or medicine to prevent a relapse, but the disease increased. Then the people counselled the prince not to go from the palace, and he said, 'I have had like whisperings of God, saying, "You are king."'

"On the 20th of July, the princess, wife of Rakotond Radama, the members of the royal family, the heads of the people, and the judges, all came to reside within the court of the palace. Then the judges fixed a kadi, or prohibition of entrance. And at noon, the 15th of August, the high military

* The exact import of this oracular response is not very apparent. Andrianampoinimerina was the founder of the present reigning family, and his spirit is supposed to maintain a kind of oversight of the affairs of Imerina, and to give intimations of coming events. The import which the queen understood it to convey would seem to be indicated by the course which she pursued.

officers assembled at the house of the commander-in-chief; and the people were startled, for it was said that the queen was dying. And the women collected their things, and the men sharpened their weapons; the traders went home from the market, one and another saying, 'I would rather they should crush me to pieces, than that Radama should not be king!'

"Then the judges called a kabary, in the name of the queen, and ordered the people not to circulate false rumours in the city. And the commander-in-chief augmented the guards in Antananarivo to 500, and commanded to search those entering the court of the palace, or coming into the city from the country. The roads round the capital were secured, and about 4,500 troops under their respective officers were placed in different parts of the capital. And no man slept in his house at night, for they desired that Radama should be king.

"After five days Ramboasalama went and said to Radama, 'I submit to you, sir, or lord;' and the latter replied, 'I will do nothing to you, for I have long ago vowed I would do nothing to you, when you were afraid. Go to Rainivoninatraniony, the commander-in-chief, and the people, and if you say that to them, perhaps there will be no destruction of life.' Then Ramboasalama came to the commander-in-chief, and to the people. He did not speak himself, but by a representative, whom he ordered to say, 'I obey Prince Rakotond Radama.' The commander answered, 'It is well that you do that, for it is the word of the sovereign to all beneath the sky.' And they separated.

"The prince did not leave the palace, for the illness of his mother had become severe. On the night of the 14th of the month there was small rain, and the firing of musketry was heard in the sky, and the astonished people exclaimed, 'What is that?' and in the morning about half-past seven o'clock the queen retired. Then Radriaka, officer of the palace, went out to fetch the commander-in-chief, (his uncle,) for Radriaka had agreed that when he should come running, the queen would be

dead. Then the commander-in-chief went with the multitude of people, with muskets, swords, spears, and shields. The soldiers were arranged in their divisions, for the people were startled, and were running together.

"When the queen's departure drew near, Rakotond Radama had been led out by Rainadriantsilavo, and two other officers of the household, to the large central palace, *Manjaka miadana* (reign of peace), and when the commander-in-chief reached the large court, he went to the prince in the great palace. The road from the large daily market to the palace (a quarter of a mile) was filled with troops, and they were also arranged so near together around the enclosure of the palace, that there was not the smallest opening anywhere to be seen. The people also all decorated themselves like the soldiers, because of their love for Prince Rakotond Radama. Then word came out to Rainilambo (husband of the queen's sister) to take 200 men, and bring Ramboasalama. And the commander-in-chief said to the officer that was going, 'Take care of the royal child,' (the rival of Radama,) 'lest he be wounded.' Then came forward Rainitavy, thirteenth honour, and cried out, saying, 'Behold, Ramboasalama is come out! He will take the oath of allegiance, and offer tribute to Rakotond Radama, the son of Rabodonandriampoinimerina, (the regal name of Radama's mother,) for he is lord of the kingdom.' Then went two high officers with 200 men to fetch Prince Ramonja to take the oath. (He is the second prince in the land, descendant of the sovereigns of the Benzanozano).

"When the people at Andohalo, the market-place, where the oath is administered, first saw Ramboasalama they raised a great shout, for they thought he was to be killed; but Ramboasalama and Ramonja, and the princess, wife of Radama, and all the members of the royal family, took the oath by striking the water and piercing the calf with a spear.* Then came

* Part of the observances followed in taking the oath of allegiance consists in striking with a spear the water provided for the ceremony in a canoe; a

Rainizaka, thirteenth honour, to proclaim that the title of the king was Radama the Second, for his was the kingdom. And when the assembled crowds heard that, they shouted, and cheered with Hi-ō-be,* (the Malagasy hurrah, which, though vocally less energetic than the English cheer, is heartstirring to them, and cannot be heard without deep feeling by a European,) for the sovereign they desired, they said, was king; and the cheering spread from the city to the country. The day was Friday, the great market day, and all buying and selling was abandoned, and the cheering came from the market nearly a mile to the north, when the people there heard that Radama was king. And soon from the country the cheers came back to the city, and all the roads were filled with people because Radama was king.

"Then Raharolahy (one of the first embassy to England, and present governor of Tamatave) went to the great roads with his friends, proclaiming that Radama II. was king, and the people shouted Hi-ō-be again; and joy was on the countenances of all the people, the great and the small, the women and the children. This continued until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the officers with the troops, the judges, the heads of the people, entered the palace yard. And when the people had entered the northern court of the large palace, a door in the upper part opened, and King Radama came out on the verandah, wearing the crown and the royal scarlet robe. The people then rejoiced with Hi-ō-be on seeing the person of the king; and the commander-in-chief, addressing the troops said, 'King Radama is lord of the kingdom,' and gave the word (present arms). Then the soldiers presented arms, and all the people shouted 'Traran-ti-tra,' (May you live to be old). Radama acknowledged

part of the water is then drunk. Another portion of the ceremony consists in the parties taking the oath thrusting a spear into the body of a calf brought for the occasion. I have frequently passed close by the spot when the officers of government were administering the oath, and have seen several spears at one time fixed in the body of the calf.

* The ō is pronounced ou.

their salutations, and the people were greatly affected when they saw him, because he had been weeping for his mother, for ended were her days.

"When he looked upon the multitudes before him, the young king spoke thus:—'This is what I say to you all beneath the day. I have succeeded the twelve kings. I am the successor of Andrianampoinimerina, Radama, and Ranavalo. I have given you my confidence, all you people.' Then the queen, the commander-in-chief, and the great officers did obeisance, kneeling at the king's feet. And Radama said to all the people, 'By the favour of God I have become king. I succeed to my ancestors. Be not afraid. I am with you (devoted to your welfare); put confidence in me. I will protect you, and your wives, and your children; work, traffic, and prosper.'

"And when the body of the queen had remained twelve days in Antananarivo for the performance of the required rites, it was taken northward amidst the firing of cannon, and musketry, and great pomp to Ambohimanga, for interment, and two days afterwards it was buried in the night. The next day the bullocks were killed, and the feast closing the ceremonies was observed. Radama afterwards bathed in a place to the west of Tanimena (red earth), and then returned. The 16th of August, 1861, was the day on which the queen departed, and on the 30th of the same month she was buried."*

According to accounts which I afterwards received from other sources, the members of the government of the late queen seem to have constituted two distinct parties, and there appear to have been several attempts to set aside Radama that Ramboasalama might succeed to the throne. There were rumours of attempts to poison the young prince, though that does not seem to have been a practice to which the Malagasy were accustomed to resort in order to remove an obstacle out of their

* This account might perhaps have been abridged with advantage, but I thought a specimen of the manner in which the people record passages of their own history might give additional interest to the information conveyed.

way. That Ramboasalama expended large sums of money in hiring or engaging adherents and in bribing others to aid him, by force if necessary, to seize the throne, is generally believed; but the late prime minister of Radama, then commander-in-chief, and his brother, the present minister and commander, and another leading family, being favourable to the prince, and the consequent adherence of the great bulk of the army to his interests, secured his accession. The prime minister of the late queen and the chief judge of the kingdom, favoured his rival, but the forethought and activity of the commander of the army made them only too glad to secure their own lives instead of attempting the throne. On the day before the death of the queen, the commander of the force counselled the king to remain within the silver palace, around which he placed 300 men. He then surrounded the large palace with men, and brought up all the troops within reach as near the palace as possible. At the same time he sent out messengers to the chiefs in the surrounding country who favoured Radama, to come armed to the capital the next day. In the evening before the queen's death he directed the prince to appear in the royal robe on the balcony of the palace, and ordered the troops in and around the courtyard to salute him. In the night he moved his troops still nearer the palace, and arranged signals that he might know when the queen ceased to breathe. As soon as he knew this, he instantly surrounded the palaces of her prime minister and of the Prince Ramboasalama, with orders to let no one leave either place. He then filled the court of the palace with troops, and proceeded to place his own soldiers within the courtyards of these rivals, so that when the queen's death was announced, instead of hasting to seize the throne, Prince Ramboasalama and his friends found, to their utter dismay, that while the troops and the populace were shouting for Radama, and the officers throwing up their caps in the air for joy, they themselves were in fact prisoners, and consequently hastened to render their allegiance.

The adherents of Ramboasalama, some of whom it was said were found in arms prepared for resistance, were banished to their places in the country, and forbidden to return to the capital. A number of the friends of the young king counselled the death of Ramboasalama as essential to the peace of the country, and the king's own safety. But Radama, whose opinion of the sacredness of human life had been rendered extreme by the wholesale slaughter he had witnessed, would not consent, and only agreed to his being banished to Ambohimirimo, one of his own villages, sixteen or twenty miles west of the capital, where he died on the 9th of April, 1862.

The king's treatment of his unsuccessful rival was most honourable. He not only preserved his life, but refused to allow any of his possessions to be confiscated, which the laws and customs of the country would have justified ; and he even paid debts in money which were found to be owing to his rival by his deceased mother, so that the entire property of Ramboasalama descended undiminished to his widow and children.

Funeral observances had an important place among the institutions of Madagascar. Only the criminals who were deemed unfit to live, were denied the shelter of a grave after death. Even the poorest slave felt assured that some equally poor relative or friendly slave would dig his lowly grave; and the obsequies of the monarch were the nation's duty. These ceremonies were in all, except the lowest class, numerous, formal, and proportionally costly ; while the manner and the duration of the season of mourning varied with the position of the deceased. The customs which followed the death of a sovereign were observed sometimes for a whole year, and affected the entire community. On the present occasion but few alterations were made, and these consisted chiefly in the discontinuance of music and dancing and other amusements, the laying aside of all gay clothing and personal ornaments, but chiefly it consisted in all classes shaving their heads.* The prime minister of the

* In a letter from Rahaniraka, the secretary of the new government, dated

late queen was left at Ambohimanga as guardian of her tomb. The king and high officers remained for a time in comparative retirement, and, except that the large palace was kept closed until the coronation, the time of public mourning was but short.

The king's humane and generous disposition, his opinions of freedom and justice, as well as his conduct towards both natives and foreigners, led all parties to expect great, and it was hoped favourable, changes. In some respects these anticipations were well founded; in others they were, as events subsequently proved, utterly groundless. Among the earliest of the king's proclamations at Antananarivo, was that which gave perfect religious freedom to both natives and foreigners residing in the country. Every man, the proclamation stated, was at liberty to engage in such religious worship as he judged best, whether heathen, Mohamedan, or Christian, whether Protestant or Catholic,* and was also free to preach or teach his own religion. Every man, of whatever religion, or of no religion, was amenable to the laws of Madagascar; and if a native or foreigner obeyed the laws of the country, he should neither be tried nor punished on account of his religion. No adherent of one religion should

the 3rd of September, 1861, informing me of the death of the queen, and inviting my return to the country, he observes on this subject: "The people, according to the customs of former times when a sovereign died, have shaved off their hair. They were not commanded to do so by Radama II., but did it of their own free will." The fact that the heads were all shaved, and probably that the king did not order it, was correct, for some of the party sent by the governor of Mauritius spoke of the strange appearance of the people with their hair all cut off. But if the accounts that I afterwards heard of the hiding, the protest, and the resistance among the female part of the population before the application of the inexorable razor or scissors, and of the tears that were shed afterwards, be true, my correspondent must have been mistaken when he said, "They did it of their own free will." Indeed, I heard that when, in the afternoon of the day on which the queen died, the chief judge announced her death, he ordered the shaving of the heads of every individual, and that, though some refused at first, it was not thought that any head would be secure that remained unshorn the next day, and that the effect of the shorn heads was startling, even to the members of the same family.

* Roman Catholic priests were there in other characters when I visited the country in 1856, and others have joined them since the accession of the king.

be allowed to molest or injure the members of another religion, but all must obey the laws.

Radama also favoured education, and commenced the erection of a school for instruction in Malagasy and English. He was also anxious to secure for Madagascar every advantage which the most unrestricted commerce affords. The aim of the previous sovereign had been to exclude foreigners from the country, allowing residence and intercourse with the inhabitants only at a few ports. The king found pleasure in intercourse with foreigners, and was ready to open the country to their enterprise and industry. He also ordered invitations to be sent to all the Malagasy residing at Mauritius, or elsewhere, to return to their native land, promising security to their persons and property. One of his earliest acts was to write to the governors of Mauritius, and also of Réunion, to invite traders and settlers to Madagascar, assuring them of protection, and perfect freedom to trade in all articles except arms and ammunition.

The native government had heretofore appointed salesmen, and fixed the prices at which all articles of export should be sold. The king authorised every man to become his own salesman, to dispose of his goods on his own terms; and, in order to imitate free trade in its widest possible extent, he abolished all export and import duties. These orders were sent down by the officers charged with the duty of hoisting the flag of the new sovereign at the ports, and as the income of the authorities at these ports was derived from the custom-house duties, the latter part of the orders could scarcely fail to diminish the joy which the inauguration of the new reign would otherwise have occasioned.

The abolition of these duties was one of the king's great errors, and naturally displeased a number of public officers. He next set himself to restore to their former owners such lands and other property as had been confiscated in consequence of the profession of Christianity, or other offences in which the punishment had been excessive. He allowed the people to

rear swine in the capital and its vicinity, from whence they had been banished because the heathen priests declared their presence offensive to the idols. The effect of this permission was, that when the idol keepers saw that pigs were admitted to the city, they removed the idols to the sacred villages to which they belonged. The late queen had, until towards the termination of her reign, made intoxication punishable with death: the king abolished the penalty, and made the use of spirituous liquors free.

The first Radama had, by the aid of European weapons and tactics, secured to himself the nominal subjection of the island at great waste of life. His successor, the late queen, had nearly depopulated vast tracts of the fairest parts of Madagascar, quite as much to enrich her officers by plunder, as to strengthen her own authority.* The government also thought their forces would be as efficient against foreigners as they had proved against their own countrymen; and the army, which comprised a large portion of the manhood of Ankova, was increased. The duty of this service was severe. The troops were required to find their own rations, and to support their families. They received neither pay nor clothes, and were forced to meet every fortnight for drill. These men, who were also required to perform other government service, felt the fortnightly drill, which sometimes took them from home two or three days, a

* It was stated, in 1840, that the province of Ankova had been drained of its youth to maintain the army of from 20,000 to 30,000 men; that in their expeditions these forces were attended by a more than equal number of camp followers, and that from some expeditions scarcely more than half the number returned. But this admitted of no comparison with the numbers that perished by the treachery and carnage of these troops. It is stated that at the above time 100,000 human beings had been killed in the queen's wars, and double that number, including women and children, sold into slavery, or divided as booty among the officers. It is stated that sometimes, among the spoil following the returning army to the capital, might be seen ten or fifteen mothers bound together by one cord, each with an infant at her back, and a large bundle belonging to her captor on her head, and, in some cases, two or three children by her side. It is chiefly when thinking of these things that I have had misgivings about the future of the Malagasy.

great hardship; but the king's proclamation, requiring them to muster only once every two months, was received as a great relief by all the soldiers. Radama also diminished the amount of *fanompoana* (unrequited governmen tservice) required from the non-military classes, and set an excellent example himself by paying in money the chief part of those whom he employed in building and other works.

The vast predatory expeditions sent by the late government to the western and southern parts of the country, had issued in the acquisition of a large amount of booty, and a large number of captives, some of them of high rank and position. Of the captives, some had been put to death, the rest reduced to slavery, and a number of these had died of hunger and fatigue on the road. Some of these captives remained in bondage when Radama came to the throne. He called them to the capital, and made them all free, declaring that he regarded all the Malagasy people as his friends, and wished the different tribes to be united as one nation and family. He then sent the chiefs, and every Sacalava he could find, to their homes, with valuable presents for their chiefs and friends, and with messages of peace and goodwill. He also sent what they would esteem more than any gift, the bones of the captive chiefs of the Sacalavas, who had been brought to the capital and put to death, or had died in captivity, that they might be buried in the land of their fathers.

The border lands between the Hovas and the Sacalavas at that time were desolate. Long tracts of country, twenty or more miles in width, were destitute of inhabitants, and the Hova villages, as well as those of their allies, were, even with that width of open neutral territory, never safe from night surprises, and assaults, in which the cattle were driven off, the men killed, the women and children hurried into slavery, and the village left a heap of blackened stones and ashes.

Not very long before the late queen's death, the Sacalavas had attacked in the night a village in Vonezongo, situated to

the west of Imérina. They had reduced the place to ashes, and having killed some of the inhabitants, they carried off, as spoil, every living soul to their own country. It was to the burned homesteads, the sacked villages, in the country from which these marauding avengers of blood and rapine issued forth, that Radama's captives of former wars, now transformed into ambassadors of peace, were sent. Their arrival was as utterly unexpected, as it was inconceivably startling and welcome. Their message was suspected; but when by means of the presents they bore, and other proofs, the fact was actually realized, the people were overcome with astonishment.

The first act of the Sacalavas who had plundered Vonezongo was to take every single captive they had brought away, and to reinstate them in the village they had destroyed, as well as to restore the property they had plundered. Embassies under selected chiefs of the Sacalavas were sent to Antananarivo to accept the welcome friendship, and to offer allegiance to the king and government, the tribes along the whole line of country, with scarcely an exception, following this example. Radama received them with that frank good nature which needed no voucher for its sincerity, and entertained them at his court with right royal hospitality. He delighted them with the music of his band, and with the singing and dancing of the Hovas; and witnessed, with his companions, the pantomimic, but startling and exciting war dances of the Sacalavas in return. He pledged to them his friendship, and, when the festivities were over, dismissed them, with clothes and other presents, to their homes. They offered to surrender their arms, but he said, "Take them back with you, and if I should want your help, you will have them ready."

The result of this treatment, so unlike anything that had ever occurred in Madagascar, surpassed all expectations, and excited universal admiration. The Sacalavas to the west and the south reciprocated the confidence of Radama, and returned his kindness, tendered their allegiance, agreed to

furnish recruits for the Hovas, and Imerina probably did not contain firmer supporters nor more sincere friends than the Sacalavas afterwards proved. The unpeopled intervening waste between the respective territories began to fill up, or was made the highway of friendly travellers. Hovas in Vonezongo in the south began to stretch to the west, and the Sacalavas moved up to the east; or the inhabitants of one border went and dwelt in the villages of the other, and cultivated adjacent plantations; and peace prevailed in the land. All saw and acknowledged the wisdom and policy of the king, and nothing made him more popular, or is remembered with greater satisfaction, than his treatment of these deeply injured tribes, and the invaluable results it produced.

Such was the state of things in the capital, in the district of Imerina, and in the Sacalava provinces, when I arrived and experienced the welcome, the hospitality, and the expressions of goodwill, which I have in part already noticed. The easy, cheerful, often joyous bearing of the people, and the exhilarating effects of hope, that the present was only the beginning of a good time to come, which seemed to be so generally felt, contrasting as it never ceased to do, in my own mind, with the restraint, fear, and the sense of espionage everywhere present which marked my former intercourse with this people, rendered the present to me a period of deep interest as well as one of cheering promise.

I had already found that the accounts which the Christians had formerly given of the king, as well as the estimate which I had myself formed respecting him, were too favourable, and that he was not a Christian in heart or life. But he was willing to learn; and my trust in the Holy Spirit's grace and power encouraged me to hope that he might become a wiser and a better man. Amongst the Christians, although I found much that was immature and defective, there was so much that was unmistakeable and genuine, that I could not doubt the sincerity of very many.

On the 6th July, my first Communion Sunday in Antananarivo, I went as soon as it was daylight to Ambatonakanga. The Christians had been accustomed to commence that service at daybreak. The morning was misty and cold as I went from my residence to the place of worship, but I found the building more than one-third full. There were nearly a hundred communicants present; the rest were spectators. The bread and wine were on the table. A hymn was sung. I read the Scriptures, and prayed, and then asked one of the native preachers to proceed as they were accustomed to do among themselves. Andriambelo then broke the rice cakes, speaking the while to the people, and another Christian distributed it, first to the men on the left, and then to the women on the right. The wine was then poured out, and taken in the same way to every communicant. Short, but affectionate addresses on the love of Christ were given: the utmost seriousness and attention prevailed. When the bread and wine had been dispensed, a hymn was sung, a short prayer followed, and the celebration of the Communion closed.

Such, so far as material observance was concerned, had been the showing forth of the Lord's death among the Christians of Antananarivo, on the first Communion Sunday which I spent with them. In the simple eating of the bread, and drinking of the wine, with the giving of thanks, there was little to attract attention, or gratify the senses; but in the spiritual communion with the Lord, and with the spiritual members of his Church in every part of the world, which this signified, how much to call forth deep and hallowed feeling. In connection too with those with whom I was now for the first time united in thus commemorating that love which passeth knowledge, and in the foreshadowing, by what I then beheld, of mercies yet to bless other nations, how much to inspire gratitude and hope. What had been the past of these dear brethren and sisters? Once they had been wholly given to idolatry, aliens from God, strangers to the covenant of promise, far off by wicked works. What

were they now? Children of God, members of the household of faith, brought nigh by the blood of Christ. They had suffered much for his name's sake, but in their darkest day had found their spiritual life invigorated by thus showing forth his death, it might at the midnight hour, in the depths of the forest, or the cave of the mountain; but now they sate in peace and joy around this feast of love, as beneath their own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make them afraid, cheered too with the inconceivably blessed hope of sitting down at the marriage-supper of the Lamb. What an earnest did such a scene present of blessings yet to come to other nations; what a reality of import is given by such a spectacle to the words of our Lord—"Other sheep I have—them I must also bring. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."

The members and the general congregation now began to enter in order to attend the ordinary service, which commenced between nine and ten o'clock, and at ten I left to visit some sick people.

On going to read with the king in English, I had proposed that we should read in the Bible, and as I had only a small pocket copy with me, he sent to the palace, and his messenger soon returned with a handsomely bound English quarto Bible, on the outside of which I noticed in gold letters: "Presented to Radama, King of Madagascar, by the London Missionary Society, 1827." The first portion of Scripture that we read together was the 103rd Psalm. The king read the English better than I expected, and gave the sense of the verses in Malagasy, to ascertain whether he had understood it correctly. In the conversation which followed, the officers sitting around occasionally joined. While we were so engaged, the French consul entered, and, as I supposed he had business with the king, I did not remain.

A few evenings before the Sunday here adverted to, the king had sent his private secretary to say that he wished me to go and read with him every day for half an hour, and also to inform me that he wished me to go at three o'clock every Sunday

afternoon to his house, to have singing, reading the Scriptures, and prayer, in the same way as we had at the places of worship. With these welcome requests I expressed my readiness to comply. Several Christians who were with me at the time were so astonished and overcome with feelings of gladness, that as soon as the messenger had left they proposed that we should unitedly thank God in prayer for this, to them, remarkable occurrence.

On Sunday, the 6th of July, I went at three o'clock, accompanied by Rahaniraka, to the king's house. Though the place was tolerably full, seats were provided for my pupils, who accompanied me. Rahaniraka, who understood English well, took his seat, at the king's request, close beside me. The singing was in Malagasy, and was good, for there were a number of singers amongst the king's attendants. I read the Scriptures first in English, and then in Malagasy, and prayed in the same way. I then read the closing verses of the sixth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, offering a short exposition on the same, and on another passage which I read. These Rahaniraka interpreted, and after singing, the service closed with the benediction. Shortly afterwards I took leave of the king and returned, purposely avoiding conversation with him after the service, as I wished that whenever we met for religious worship it might be for that alone.

I had been told that the king intended to object to anything I might say that he did not approve; but he was remarkably attentive, as were the young nobles, my pupils, while the Christian officers remarked that it was a sight they never had expected to see. They considered that the very fact of the king's attending religious service on the Sunday would prevent some, at least, from opposing the Christian observance of that day. The religious observance of the day was at this time considered a most important part of personal religion.

From this time I attended the king daily, and read with him at least one chapter in the Bible. No one interrupted the reading, but the officers and those present often took part in

the conversations which followed. These were at times peculiarly interesting, and were not confined to religious subjects. The king was extremely anxious to increase his knowledge, and possessed a singularly retentive memory. He was, I think, observant of the grand outlines of creation, as shown in the stupendous mountain piles which often pierced the clouds, or stretched away in long successive ridges to the dim horizon. He was also greatly excited by the sudden and violent atmospheric changes which occur in mountainous countries. Nothing terrified him but a thunder-storm. In every residence in which he dwelt, he had a subterranean chamber prepared, and to this he resorted whenever the thunder and lightning were near and violent.* Notwithstanding his dread of lightning, the king used often to speak as if he thought he held a charmed life. He used to say he had no fear, God would protect him; that he had been in great dangers, but had remained unhurt. He had been in danger from evil men, who had planned his death; he had been bitten by a mad dog, from whose bite two men had died. He had once smoked some powerful narcotic till he became insensible, but recovered. How far the peril had been actual, I had no means of knowing; yet I always thought he had a vague idea that his person was secure under a sort of supernatural protection exercised over him by the spirits of his ancestors.

I never saw the king more profoundly moved than one day when we read together the 104th Psalm. The description there given of the majesty and greatness of God seemed to strike his spirit with reverence and awe, and at the same time to inspire a kind of satisfaction and delight with the new

* Thunder and lightning, at certain seasons of the year, are peculiarly grand in Madagascar, and not unfrequently dangerous. The houses of the upper classes, and many of the lower, are provided with lightning conductors, down which, during a storm, the dazzling light is sometimes seen to pass, while the bursting of the thunder seems as if the granite mountains around were being shivered. Few years pass in which death from lightning does not occur in the capital or its neighbourhood.

thoughts and ideas imparted to his soul. Most attentively did he listen to the few remarks which I offered explanatory of some of those, to us, more generally understood phenomena of nature, such as the formation of the crust of the earth, the changes which have taken place in its surface, and the motions of the heavenly bodies.

In reference to the latter, some of those present thought the sun did not keep in the same place, for there was a man living in the time of whose grandfather, more than sixty years ago, rice used to be planted every year when the sun set behind a certain part of a conspicuous mountain, the northern extremity of which was visible in the horizon. He taught his children to do the same; but it was stated that gradually the sun when setting did not reach the specified part of the mountain; and that, ultimately, the furthest limit reached by the sun when setting did not extend to the mountain at all. The king mentioned another man still living, who used to mark on the face of a rock the place over which the sun set at the time of planting rice, and that the place of sunset when they planted rice now had changed. He added that, while his mother lived, the man never related what he had done, for fear of being punished, but that he had seen the rock many times. The officers present confirmed his statement, and when I said I should like to see the rock and the man, he said, "You shall see both."

In reference to my remark that the surface of the earth was changing, that in some places the sea was rising over the land, and in others the land rising out of the sea, Radama said that was taking place now in some parts of the coast of Madagascar. He had recently, he said, received a letter from a distant part informing him that the sea had been going down a good deal, and the sand had been washed away; and a cannon almost destroyed by rust had been discovered, though there had never been any port, or any Europeans there. I suggested that it might have belonged to some ship wrecked off the coast, and brought on shore by the natives. On the same occasion the king asked if I could give

him any information about the comets, two having been seen during the previous year before his mother's death, and that their appearance had greatly alarmed the people. This phenomenon I also endeavoured to explain to him.

When in company with the king and a number of officers at another place, I was drawn to take part in conversation on subjects relating to government, on which I had purposed always to remain silent, unless specially appealed to. Some remarks were made upon the loss to the government which the abolition of custom-house duties entailed; also on the great increase of drunkenness among the people. I was appealed to, and said no government could be carried on without a revenue, and that foreign commerce was a legitimate source of revenue, especially to a people of limited resources like themselves; that I did not think the friends of Madagascar would think the government had acted wisely in abolishing all duties. Some of the officers said they did not think things were cheaper than before. In reference to drunkenness, I said I had noticed with sorrow a great increase, which must tend to impoverish and demoralise the people. The king said the prohibition of spirituous liquors by severe penalty did not prevent their use; that there was intoxication in his mother's time, when its punishment was death.

In relation to imposing duties the king said he could not do it. He did not think it was needed. There was no war, and it would be his great object to perpetuate peace. They might hope that, with the prospect of peace and increased commerce, they could do without the customs duties, which would make things dearer to everbody. He wanted money, he said, for himself, for his wife, his family, to build his house; but could not cause the people to pay more for the things they wanted than they did now, when there were no duties. And then, he said, he had given his word that there should be none. If he now imposed them, his own people and foreigners would say he was unstable, and did not abide by his word, and they would neither respect nor put confidenee in him.

Radama on this occasion exhibited more decision and firmness than I gave him credit for. He spoke with much animation, but with perfect self-command and courtesy. He said his heart had not told him it was wrong to abolish the duties, and it did not tell him so now, but he would think about it; and though he did not prohibit the use of spirituous liquors, he would issue orders prohibiting drunkenness, and would punish the drunkard. He then added, "I am sorry, very sorry indeed, that my giving up the duties should not be thought well of by my friends abroad, but if the country prospers, they will perhaps change their opinions."

I was accustomed to go to each of the three city congregations in rotation. Wishing to see the early service at Amparibe, I arrived on the 20th of July, about half-past seven o'clock, and found at least five hundred persons assembled. They appeared to be engaged in a preparatory service, singing, prayer, and the reading of the Scriptures alternated, the singing being led by a martyr's son. By nine o'clock there were more than a thousand persons present. All were neatly and becomingly attired, some in rofia cloth, but a greater number in clean, decent cotton lambas, a few wearing European dresses. It was a gladdening sight to behold, and truly encouraging to know that within little more than a few hundred yards double that number were assembled in two other congregations. Rainimarosandy, a Christian officer, commenced the regular service by singing and prayer. Others followed; Andriambelo, a returned exile, preached an excellent and impressive sermon, and I closed the service with singing and prayer. Among the audience were a number of intelligent young officers connected with some of the highest families in the place, and I could not but hope there was an honourable and useful future before them.

In the afternoon I went to the king's house, which I found well filled. Rahaniraka interpreted my discourse very correctly, and during the service the king rose up more than once to

illustrate or enforce what I had said. As I was leaving, Radama said that if in former times I had spoken to the people as I had done then, they would have said some one had been telling me about them.

On another Sunday afternoon when I had been preaching at the king's place, from John iii. 16, on the love of God and of Christ, the king made afterwards many remarks, and said, "If Jesus Christ loves the Christian so much as you say, why does he not let them deny Him, and so not die? Why are they obliged to die? He knows they believe and love Him without their dying." I said it was not Jesus Christ who would not let them deny Him to save their lives, but the power of truth in their own consciences, and the trust and love of Jesus Christ in their own hearts, that made them rather die than be false to Him and their own consciences. This caused them to die to enjoy his love, rather than live as hypocrites, unfit for it, and without hope of it. Christ had loved them, and given Himself to save them. They had avowed their love to Him, and could not show to Him and to the world that such avowal had been false by denying Him in the day of trial. I said there was no love in falsehood, no love or goodness without truth, and that nothing was stronger than love and truth, especially in religion. But, I added, that I would talk to him further on these subjects some other day.

Little as I then knew of Radama, I never lost sight of the inconceivably powerful influences for evil under which his childhood had been passed; and I found his moral principles, though in some respects true and highly commendable, yet in others so false that I deemed it quite as desirable, if not more so, to urge upon his consideration the great unchangeable principles of God's moral law, as to present the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, believing as I did, that should the Divine Spirit renew his heart, it would be by the instrumentality of both, and of neither alone.

During the former reign it was only on extraordinary occa-

sions, and by privileged persons, that the sovereign could be seen. All communication to and from the people was by the ministers. Radama from the first declared himself accessible, at specified times, to all classes of his subjects. The peeple prized this privilege highly. In conversation with me, persons at this time have often said, "We have no fear now. Radama is king. If anything evil comes to us, or if anything is wrong, we can go to him," as if in their opinion nothing more was to be desired. Many, I believe, went at times chiefly for the pleasure of seeing him and presenting their salutations. His habits were desultory, but not without a measure of order. The early morning was devoted to public business with his ministers or others, and to the reception of formal visits from the members of his own family, and any time that might remain, to learning English.

Some of those who appeared to cherish for Radama a sincere personal affection repeated their visits almost daily. One morning while I was present, his mother's sister, the mother of the present queen, said to be in person very much like the late queen, came with her husband, who was splendidly dressed in a blue silk damask coat, or loose dressing-gown, and followed by their retinue and servants, to present their morning salutations to the king. He rose as soon as they entered, and returned their salutations, taking the hand of his aunt with much grace and kissing it. The greetings seemed to be more the manifestation of affectionate interest in each other than mere formal ceremony. As they turned to visit the queen, the royal lady's husband perceiving me standing by the king, for we had been reading together, tendered his *veloma* (may you live) very cordially.

The king at this time generally spent the middle of the day at his school-house, or in a dwelling near the workshops of several clever workmen in iron and brass which stood within the same enclosure. Two sentries kept the entrance gate, and when any persons sought admittance, the king, on being in-

formed, sent a messenger to bring them to his presence. These visits often occurred while I was with him. If we were reading, he required the visitors to wait; if conversing, they were either admitted to the room, or he went outside the door.

Parties occasionally came from other and distant provinces; more than once several persons came from Mojanga, a port on the western coast, and 200 miles distant; and I found gratification in observing the features, dress, ornaments, and bearing of the several parties. The language in remote parts differed from that of the Hovas, but still they understood each other.

These interviews between the king and his people were to me exceedingly interesting. Youthful, light-hearted, and fond of fun as Radama naturally was, he never forgot himself on these occasions. If it was a calamity that brought a sufferer, he was gentle and kind, and promised to see what assistance could be given. If it was a wrong, he sent to the magistrate to have it redressed. If it was any one seeking, as he thought, to impose upon him, he was very severe. But he was particularly courteous and assuring to such as came from a distance. He listened with patience to the statements of each party when opponents preferred their rival claims, made inquiries on any point which he did not understand, and then decided without hesitation, as one who felt no doubt, and knew that his decision would be final.

A Christian widow who had survived the torture of fetters in the last persecution, whose husband had been stoned to death, and whose property had been divided as spoil amongst the officers by whom the Christians had been condemned, came one day to complain that her plot of land, her only means of support, had been appropriated by a rich and powerful chief, who refused to restore it. The king listened patiently, inquired of his officers if it was so, and when the widow's statement was confirmed, told her not to grieve, and said her land should be restored to her. He then sent to the chief to ask why the

widow's land had not been restored, and directed the officer to say that it was no crime to pray to God, but a thing to be rewarded rather than punished; that it was suffering enough to the woman that her husband had been killed; and at the same time he ordered the chief to restore the land, or to give another piece equally valuable. The widow came to me about a fortnight afterwards to tell me that God had caused her to obtain a good piece of land, adding, that she "blessed God that Radama was king."

One day a party in homely attire, but with almost enthusiastic expressions of gladness, arrived from a distance with a present, or it might be tribute, of honey, the mellifluous name of which is *tantely*. The honey-jars, as they might be called, presented a singular appearance, being wooden cylinders formed by hollowing out a piece of the branch or trunk of a tree, and secured by closely-fitting wooden lids, and the whole covered over with leaves, bound on with strips of green bark. The visitors placed these rustic vessels on the ground, took off the lids, and when the king tasted the honey and pronounced it good, they looked at each other with satisfaction, and then sat for some time gazing at him without speaking, but with evident delight. Presents of fruit, fish, game, or of anything rare or choice, were almost daily brought to both the king and the queen; not from the rich, nor as tribute, but from the joy which it seemed to give the peasantry to bring anything that would afford pleasure to the sovereigns.

These are but a few of the signs of satisfaction and confidence very generally existing in the minds of the people immediately after the accession of Radama to the throne of Madagascar. Hopes, ardently cherished, had not been disappointed. The burdens of the people had been lightened, clemency had succeeded cruelty, the laws had been rendered more lenient, trial by poison and capital punishment had been abolished, every species of persecution had ceased, while the country had been opened to the friendship, enterprize, commerce, and religion

of foreign nations. The few wrong steps taken might yet be retraced, and there was nothing apparent to forbid the ardently cherished expectation of a long period of progressive improvement.

So far as the people were concerned, I shared then the general expectation. In reference to the king, I knew of nothing that, should it please the Divine Spirit to change his moral nature, need prevent his attaining that enlightenment of mind, soundness of principle, and general improvement of character, which would enable him to lead the nation onward in its upward and brightening course. I was however fully conscious that the seasons of temptation and trial which the expected influx of foreigners, and the rejoicings and festivities connected with the approaching coronation, would bring to a nature constituted like his, and marked by the distinguishing traits of character which he exhibited—his gaiety of heart, his frank and genial spirit, his delight in society and in the exercise of hospitality, with his tendency to surrender himself to the impulses of the moment—might make shipwreck of all. Nevertheless, so far as my knowledge at that time extended, the prospect appeared to me more cheered by hope, than darkened by discouragement.

CHAPTER V.

Native and European dress in Madagascar—Revised code of laws—Abolition of capital punishment—Law in favour of religious liberty—Laws affecting foreigners—Fondness of the natives for music—Evening singing and music—Watchmen of Antananarivo—Public roads—Revelations of the microscope—Pursuits of Radama and his friends—King dancing for joy—Terror inspired by a live owl—Presentation of the French embassy to the King and Queen of Madagascar—Satisfactory character of the interview—Decision of the King about his coronation—Arrival of the English embassy—Conversation with the Bishop of Mauritius respecting the country to be occupied by the agents of the London and Church Missionary Societies—State of Christianity at the capital—Presentation of the English embassy—Effect produced by the reception of Her Majesty's letter—Present and address from the Christians to the English embassy—Visit of the Bishop and Captain Anson to sites of the martyrs' death.

THE dress among the middle and higher classes of the Malagasy, like that of most of the natives of warm climates, and of a corresponding grade of civilisation, was worn in loose and flowing folds of light material, such as silk, hemp, or cotton; the lambas or broad long clothes of the men reaching from the shoulders to the knees, those of the women extending to the feet, which were also frequently covered. The military and the male slaves in Imerina wore their hair short; by the other classes it was braided in a variety of forms, some of those in use among the females being neat and tasteful. Altogether the native costume was light, agreeable, and becoming, and probably favoured the freedom and ease of their movements.

Radama had always shown great partiality for European dress. During my former visit I had never seen him in any other. It was also adopted by the young nobles who were at that time his companions. He now not only always wore it

himself, but recommended its use by those whose means enabled them to obtain it, and required that the officers about his person, and all who visited him, should appear in European costume. It thus became general amongst the upper classes, and the king was gratified thereby, regarding it as one means of promoting civilisation, by leading the people to adopt also in other respects the habits of the more advanced communities. The wealthy classes found no difficulty in obtaining the more expensive clothing, and had no objection to wearing it, perhaps were pleased to appear in French or English dress; but I regretted its coming into fashion, as it tempted many to incur expenses beyond their means, without improving their appearance, or adding to their comfort.

The first year of Radama's reign was now drawing to a close. The discontinuance of the customs duties, and the diminution of unpaid government service, though condemned by the parties most nearly concerned, were welcomed by the great body of the people, who appeared generally satisfied with the new order of things. The laws of the kingdom had been revised, and cordially accepted by the whole community. With the exception of abolition of the duties, every change was regarded as an improvement, rendering their code more accordant with the views of the sacredness of human life held by the king, as well as more liberal and humane.

These laws, of which the king gave me a copy soon after my arrival, had been already promulgated. In Madagascar the king is the fountain of all law as well as all honour, and according to the customs of the country, one of the early acts of a new sovereign on ascending the throne is to announce publicly to the people any changes he may make in the laws of his ancestors, and any commands of his own which he may add to them. The newly proclaimed king thus introduced the code of his reign:—"These are the laws of the kingdom given by the founders of the dynasty and his successors" (enumerating their names), "which I do not change, except in abolishing the punish-

ment of death, and ordeal by *tangena*, Saith Radama the Second, King of Madagascar."

The separate enactments of this code, which extend to sixty-four in number, include crimes against the person, or property, or rights of individuals, and offences against the government or the public by the several classes of the community, freemen or slaves. The laws are in substance the enactments of preceding sovereigns, differing chiefly in the change of punishment for the highest crimes, with a few additional orders introduced by the king.

The first law declares that for murder, rebellion, attempted assassination, robbery in the palace, unauthorised administration of the oath of allegiance, and other crimes formerly punished by death, the penalty shall be loss of wife and children to be sold into slavery; that those guilty of murder, treason, or attempted assassination shall be branded on the forehead,* and be loaded with fetters; and that traitors and rebels shall be sent away so bound in fetters to such distant part as the people shall determine. The descendants of Radama's great grandfather, a privileged class in the community, were to be punished by fines or confiscation of part of their estates. The sums are also specified at which persons sentenced to slavery may be redeemed, and the proportions of fines or confiscated property which shall belong to the sovereign and to other parties.

The law guaranteeing perfect religious freedom to all residents in Madagascar, native or foreign, to practise, preach, and teach their religion without the least interruption or hindrance,

* Criminals were sometimes branded on the forehead with a heated musket-barrel, and the circular marks thus burned into the skin were permanent. At other times the nature of their crime was marked on their foreheads by piercing and raising the skin with an awl, or other sharp instrument, and inserting a coloured liquid into the puncture, so as by this means to declare their crime. Thus a traitor would be sent to the place of banishment, not only in irons, but with the word *Mpkiomy* tattooed on his forehead. The latter was not permanent. The culprits managed either to get the colouring matter removed, or the lines obliterated, and in those that I have seen the skin has been slightly seamed or corrugated, and the marks in course of time obliterated.

occurs among the earliest of those which Radama now incorporated in the Malagasy code.

The 57th law enacts, that if any native or foreigner should discover any land or place in Madagascar in which there is gold or silver, precious stones, or copper, lead, or coal, such discovery shall be reported to the sovereign, who shall appoint persons to arrange what reward shall be given to the discoverer; but that the digging or working for such metals and precious stones, &c., shall belong to the sovereign alone.*

The next law requires the sovereign's approval of any engagements made by the natives with foreigners for bees-wax, india-rubber, gum-benzoin, or other native products, to render such engagement valid. All such native productions as are obtained without cultivation had been considered as belonging to the sovereign, and hitherto contracts for these had been made with the sovereign alone, who had ordered the people to collect the articles as part of the government service. This was therefore an improvement in allowing the collector to make the contract, requiring the sanction of the sovereign, to whom probably a portion of the price of the gums, &c., would be paid.

In this code it is also stated that foreigners are permitted to build houses or cultivate ground, with the permission of the authorities, but that such land cannot become the property of those who thus occupy it, but must belong to the sovereign.

These laws are proclaimed by the judges to the people, and laws or orders are also proclaimed to strangers from the country on the day of the great market, and, though only signed by the king, must be regarded as the code in which the members of the government agree. The penalty substituted for crimes generally considered capital was heavy, and in such a state of society

* Some dissatisfaction was expressed by the friends of M. Lambert when this law was promulgated, and it was said that the king had agreed with that gentleman that the discoverers of any mines of precious metals, &c., should have the exclusive privilege of working them. The king said if he had done so, he had done what he ought not to have done, and that the above must be the law.

would certainly deter from crime as effectually as any, short of taking life, which they could inflict. The abolition of the poison ordeal,* so fearful an engine of cruelty and death under cover of judicial proceedings, and the legal recognition and guarantee of religious freedom, are blessings of incalculable value to Madagascar. These laws were promulgated in the other provinces as well as in Imerina; and I was somewhat surprised to see that for some offences the penalties were in several instances made lighter to the people at a distance than to those in the central part of the kingdom.

The increasing number of foreigners at Tamatave, and the expectation of others at the capital, made the king, and also his chief minister, anxious that some regulations should be framed to prevent any misunderstandings or disputes between the natives and the strangers. Both spoke to me on the subject, and I said it would be well to print such regulations as they expected foreigners to observe, as many quarrels between the natives and foreigners arose from the ignorance of the latter of the customs of the people, and suggested that the British consul would be able to assist them in any measures they might adopt for maintaining a good understanding between the different parties; and I only advert to the subject here to show how anxious the king and the government were not to give any just cause of offence to foreigners.

The Malagasy, especially the Hovas, are passionately fond of music. Besides the military band, one more or less efficient is always included in the personal establishment of the sovereign, and of some of the higher nobles or members of the royal family. A house is in such cases appropriated to the band near the residence of the proprietor. Ramboasalama had one near the large palace he was building to the west of the courtyard; and I frequently found when I went in the afternoon to read with the

* It seems strange that many of the heathen were averse to the abolition of this ordeal, and would not object to its re-enactment, notwithstanding its uncertainty and frequent cruelty.

king that his band were practising somewhere on the premises, and when our reading was over, he occasionally asked me to accompany him to hear their music. I was always gratified when I did so, and I afterwards heard both English and French visitors say that they played remarkably well. Their instruments were mostly of native manufacture; some of them of silver, were such as to astonish their visitors. The ear of the king was perhaps as correct as that of any in Madagascar, and his taste as good. His own delight in music attracted to him the best musicians in the country, and encouraged several of the young officers who were daily with him, to seek amusement in music and singing. They played by notes, the first Malagasy band having been two years under training by one of the band-masters at Mauritius, and some of them were soon able to read off or play any new and easy foreign tunes. They had a few pieces composed by themselves which, I have been told since my return, are creditable to their taste and skill. I have repeatedly heard the observation made by foreign visitors and residents, that the king's ear was as perfect as, without musical education, could be expected. I believe music was to him a source of pure enjoyment, and his band spared no pains in their endeavours to excel. I recollect saying, when they had been playing some European music which they thought might be used when their visitors came, that if they played as well as they had done then, they need not be ashamed to play before anybody, when one of them looked up and said, "We are never ashamed when we do the best we can." I think it was on the same occasion that the king took one of the instruments, adjusted it, and played through the tune with remarkable precision, and as he laid it down when he had done, playfully exclaimed, "I was a soldier before I was a king, and I love the soldiers as much as ever."

The first missionaries had prepared a small collection of hymns in the native language in easy metres, about one hundred and seventy in number, which, next to the Scriptures,

was one of their choicest treasures. Being small in size, it was easily carried concealed in some part of their dress, and often beguiled a dark and sorrowful hour in prison, or in exile. Many who had never possessed a book, had committed all the most cheering of these simple, unpretending hymns to memory. The Christians had also learned from the first missionaries a number of tunes used in religious worship; and though during the long period of repression and suffering they had but few opportunities for singing publicly together, they had, since all restraint had been removed, and freedom of worship established, given vent to their long-pent-up feelings, and made Antananarivo vocal with their songs.

Singing was not confined to seasons of worship, either in the sanctuary or the family home. The children sang at their play, or as they went along the streets. The slaves sang at their work. And in the cool of the evening, that pleasant time in all warm climates, when the wind was hushed, the moon walking in brightness, or the stars glittering as they only glitter in a tropical sky, sometimes bands of young men, or at other times companies of young women, perhaps ten or twelve together, would walk through the main streets of the city singing, not as their predecessors had sung, in the days of persecution, in under-tones or whispers, for fear of prison and chains, but in conscious, joyous liberty, with clear and cheerful voice, pouring forth their strains of sacred Christian melody.

And often, too, not only at this early period of my residence there, but during a large portion of my stay in Antananarivo, there were several places on the opposite side of the hollow plain, on the edge of which my dwelling stood, or in other directions within hearing distance, where a number of Christians, perhaps once a week, when the evening meal was over, used to meet together out of doors in the courtyard of one of their houses, and sing and talk, and talk and sing, for a long delicious hour, or until the evening gun on the high southern rock sent the singers and the listeners home, to close the doors,

extinguish the lamps, and leave the city to the lights of heaven.

The Malagasy guardians or watchmen, before the report of the evening gun had died away, then started on their rounds, beginning their loud and harsh call, which I should think no European ever heard for the first time without starting, and, perhaps, concluding that there was fire, or thieves, or murder, or that the sound was the cry of some unhappy wretch in his last agony. The sleepers, however, were not always left under the sole influence of the watchman's discordant cry, which is nothing but the loudest noise they can make. Sometimes, an hour or more after the gun had fired and the watchmen had gone their first round, a small select company of musicians, perhaps violinists, or players on the clarionet, or flute (there was never a mixture of instruments), would walk once or twice along the main street from the palace to the market, and charm the night with music.

It had been the policy of past governments in Madagascar to confine their intercourse with foreigners to the ports on the coast as a means of preserving their own possession of the country. It had, therefore, been their object to render the roads into the interior as difficult as possible to an invading enemy. But I had been gratified by signs of the commencement of a change in this respect on my last journey. A circuitous and more easy route had in some instances been taken, planks or logs of wood had been laid across swampy places, and bridges, seldom more than three or four poles, or trunks of small trees, laid side by side across the rivers, were now being repaired in order to facilitate the journey to the capital of the visitors expected in the course of the year.

The floods in Antananarivo during the rainy season are often very destructive to the roads. I have seen, in places where there were no rocks, gullies six or more feet deep formed in the middle of the road, or taking a winding course from side to side, by the flood which a single continuous fall of rain has produced.

At other times the soil has been washed away from large blocks of stone and then carried lower down, leaving fearful chasms, rendering the roads nearly impassable. Considerable repairs are consequently required after each rainy season, and as such repairs are of the most temporary kind, consisting of little more than filling up the holes with sods of grass, they only last for a short time, or at most until the succeeding rains. These repairs appeared to have been omitted after the last floods, and as intelligence of the arrival at Tamatave of some of the visitors expected to attend the coronation had been received, a number of soldiers and others were employed in putting the chief thoroughfares of the city in order before their arrival.

I continued my daily visits to the king, who in his efforts to attain a little English manifested quite as much perseverance as I had expected. Our conversation afterwards depended upon his leisure or otherwise. I took with me one day a stereoscope and transparent slides, exhibiting the residences of our queen at Windsor and Buckingham Palace, together with interior views of several of the apartments in each. The king and queen were both greatly pleased with these views, and the queen especially looked at them repeatedly, and called some of her friends who were present to see them.*

A Protestant gentleman in Paris had sent the king a very excellent solar microscope, with a number of slides, which, at his request, when I presented it, I promised to exhibit to him on the first favourable day. When I did so, the king and the whole Malagasy then present were astonished and gratified. The greatest wonder appeared to be excited by the beautiful

* A short time before my departure I presented the stereoscope and these slides to the queen, from whom I had received many favours. Her majesty was at that time finishing a new palace. The next time Mr. Cameron, who superintended the building, was there; she showed him the representation of Queen Victoria's palace, asking him if any such ornaments could be introduced into her own apartments; and I believe Mr. Cameron was obliged to say he was afraid the Malagasy workmen were not yet sufficiently advanced to be able to gratify her majesty's wishes.

structure of an insect's wing, the gigantic proportions of the common flea, and specimens of differently coloured human hair. A kind of reverence and silent admiration seemed to be produced by the first. About the flea they were incredulous, until I actually showed them the insect between the glasses in the slides; and for the third specimen they were obliged to take my word. They said the hair was hollow like a bamboo, and some added, as large as a spear handle. I promised on a future opportunity to insert some of their own hair in the slide, which would remove their scepticism; and I took advantage of the occasion to tell them that there was a world of creative wisdom and skill concealed within all natural objects around us, even in a drop of water, as varied and wonderful as those which we every day behold, and with which by means of the microscope we might become acquainted.

On one of my visits to the king about this time, I found a number of his officers and friends sitting with him, and after our reading together, I had an interesting conversation with them. They said the king, while prince, had met with much opposition and many difficulties in his endeavours to save life and to confer benefits on the community, but that he was encouraged because his heart told him that what he was doing was right and good. That when he began to take notice of the condition of the people, he found that there was much suffering amongst them caused by extortion, unjust awards, or excessive and unlawful punishments; that he sought to obtain right by appealing to his mother and the high officers, and by helping those who suffered to the utmost extent of his means. That when he saw the roads commenced by Radama the First neglected, he proposed to them to unite with him to finish them thoroughly; that they procured men to labour, and he and his companions finished all the roads in the capital. That the wooden bridges over the rivers were frequently broken down, and that numbers of people perished in attempting to pass during the floods in canoes, or by swimming. That the

prince proposed, and they agreed to unite with him, to build stone bridges, and that all the bridges to the west and the east, as far as Ambatomanga, and to the north, were built by them, whereby the lives of many people had been saved. That they pursued these works without pay or honorary reward for years; that when there were floods, and their work was in danger, they often worked until late at night, and the prince was always with them, sometimes wrapped in his cloak in rain and storm, in daylight or dark; and that, when the roads and bridges were finished, the queen, his mother, the authorities, and the people were all pleased.

I knew there had been bridges finished in the time of the first Radama, by constructing piers of massive stone in the waters, and laying flat stones or timber on the top, but I did not recollect the erecting of any arched bridges, and I asked them who had helped them, or directed them how to proceed in the turning of the arches. They said no one had assisted them; that they had books about building bridges, with pictures and instructions how to make the arches, and these afforded the only assistance they received. I have since passed over a number of these bridges, of from one to seventeen arches in length, and whenever I have asked the people who built them, their answer has always been, "Radama and the Menamaso." Some of the bridges are out of order now, but they are the only structures of the kind in the country.

In the course of the same conversation the speakers alluded to the stone house near to which we were then sitting, and said Radama did not build a *battery*, but a *school*, as he wished the people to be educated. They added that when they commenced the efforts in which they had been so long engaged, he said to them, "We must not seek for honour, nor for money, but to do all the good we can; to diminish the miseries of the people by seeking help for those in distress, applying to the rich for assistance, but especially, we must try to save the lives of those condemned to death, by pleading with the high officers, or with the

keepers of the victims to let them escape, by promising them protection against any evil to themselves." It was not, they said, the Christians more than others that he sought to save, excepting that he thought the putting them to death to be destitute of any justification whatever, and thus he had saved the lives of very many.

These officers referred especially to the efforts of Radama to liberate as many as he could of those who, soon after my last visit, had been sentenced to die in chains for crimes which they had, as he considered, been decoyed to confess on the promise of only a slight penalty. They referred also to his saving Ramboasalama's life, and to his treatment of the Sacalavas, especially to his sending home, in order that they might be buried in the sepulchres of their fathers, the bodies, or rather the bones of the Sacalava rulers who had died in captivity, or had been put to death when brought to the capital. This was, in fact, one of the most genuine evidences which the king could give of the sincerity of his friendship, and would be fully appreciated by the Sacalavas; the loss by death in battle being less severely felt if the bones of the fallen could be preserved by his friends, and brought home for interment.

I told them I was glad to meet so many who had been associated with the king in these good works. That difficulties, often arising from misapprehension, attended the commencement of the best of works, and I adverted, as an example, to the earliest attempts at education in Antananarivo, where, when the missionaries opened their first school, the parents, in order to prevent their children going, lest they should be sold for slaves, hid them in rice pits, where some were suffocated; and then I directed them to look at the sons of the nobles who were sitting in the room, as evidence of the estimation in which learning was now held in the same city.

In regard to the efforts of the prince to save life, his treatment of his rival, when in his power, and his conduct towards the Sacalavas, I said, that when the conquests of his ancestors

were forgotten, these acts of clemency and justice would do more to secure firm and lasting peace in Madagascar than all the forces they could send against the Sacalavas, or the military posts they could establish in the country. I added, that everything good in this world came from God, to whom acknowledgment was due, while greater opportunities brought increased obligations. In regard to the king, I said friends in England watched his course with great anxiety, and offered many prayers that he might share personally in the religious blessings which he had been so instrumental in extending amongst the people. Other instances of effort and of danger in which the prince was concerned were then mentioned, especially occasions of peril and escape when his life had been in danger.

The conversation then became very animated, and, as was not unusual with the king, he appeared to be carried away by the excitement of the moment. At last he rose, and said, "I must dance for joy."* And calling to one of the company, said "R——, will you dance with me? I must dance!" The officer replied he had almost forgotten how, it was so long since they had had any dancing; but the king's light shoes and dress-coat were brought, and he soon after led the way to a larger room, where, on a space being cleared, he called to his friend, named a tune, then sprang forward and danced an English country dance, to the delight of his companions, and especially of the young nobles, my pupils. After sitting down for a short time the king went into the band-room, played one or two tunes with the band, before I took leave and returned to my own dwelling.

When I went to the king on the 30th of July, I found the leader of the singing at one of our places of worship with a number of Christians singing at his house. He appeared much

* This was not the first occasion on which dancing had demonstrated the joy of the sovereign. When the first Radama heard that Mr. Hastie, the British agent, had recovered from an illness, he ordered cannon and musketry to be fired, the band to play, and began himself to dance.

pleased with some of the pieces sung, which I was informed were native compositions. The same teacher attended afterwards to teach some of the young officers and others who went there to learn singing. The only tunes they practised at the time were such as the Christians used in their assemblies for worship.

A friend of mine at Mauritius had, when in Madagascar, included amongst his collection of birds, specimens of the Malagasy Owl, common about the rocks to the west of the palace. Ornithologists in England, to whom the specimens had been sent, were led to conclude that the species was the same as the common English Barn Owl; and my friend having requested me to obtain additional specimens for him, I asked the king to have a few procured, and I afterwards sent a dozen skins as requested. In Madagascar, owls were considered birds of evil omen, the familiars of sorcerers, and their appearance the premonition of death. When the king's servant brought me the first live owl, and took it from under his lamba or cloth, to give into my hand, my cook, a great fat fellow, cried out with fear, and with a look of unmistakable horror rushed out of the house, to the great amusement of the bearer of the bird and the other servants. The cook, however, soon recovered so far as to take off the skin of the owl and dry it.

The great event of the coronation had been fixed for the month of August, but to enable the representatives from distant provinces to be present, it was postponed to the following month. The change, however, was made too late to inform the foreign visitors who were expected, and the Commission or Embassy appointed by the Emperor of the French to attend on the occasion reached Antananarivo on the 28th of July, accompanied by the widow of M. de Lastelle, now a noble of Imerina, though a princess of the Betsimasaka, the most numerous race on the eastern coast. Father Jouen, Préfet Apostolique de Madagascar, arrived at the same time.

In the evening the king sent a messenger to inquire if I was

ill, as I had not been to him all the day. The next time I saw him he said he had heard that the Bishop of Mauritius was coming up with the English General, and asked if I wished the bishop to reside near me during his stay. I replied that I regarded the bishop and clergy of Mauritius as my friends, and should be glad for the bishop to reside where most agreeable to his majesty. He said perhaps it would be most agreeable to the bishop not to be separated from his companions. The king then informed me that the French Commission would be presented on the 31st, and asked if I wished to be present. I said I had no official business there, and should be out of my place, but that, if he wished it, I would go. He said he did wish it, and added that he desired I should go to his house to preach every Sunday as usual, and that he had directed Rahaniraka to tell me that he wished me to consider myself as his chaplain, not only to preach on Sunday, but to give religious instruction to any members of his family who might desire it; and the same day I received a document to that effect from the king.

While occupied with my pupils the following day; a messenger came from the king to inform me that tidings had been received from Tamatave announcing the arrival of the English appointed to attend the coronation, and on going to him in the afternoon, I found that a letter had been received from the Governor of Tamatave stating that General Johnstone and the English had arrived, had started for the capital, and that among them was a missionary, who commanded the artillery. I said that either the governor or the interpreter must have made a mistake, and it must be the Bishop of Mauritius. The king again expressed his wish for me to be at the palace during the presentation on the following day.

Rahaniraka, the foreign secretary, and his son, breakfasted with me the next morning, and about eleven, the king's private secretary came to request me to accompany him to the palace. Some time after our arrival the king sent for me to his dressing-room, where his officers were completing the arrangement of

his attire. He then proceeded to the queen's house, and shortly afterwards returned with her majesty, the court ladies, the wives and daughters of the nobles, and officers of the palace.

His majesty wore a French general's uniform, with broad gold sash. The queen's dress, which was also European, consisted of a white satin body, and white muslin skirt ornamented with pink flowers, and her hair, enclosed in a silver net, was surmounted by a gold ornament. She was a queenly looking woman; and both looked remarkably well, certainly not darker in complexion than many of the inhabitants of southern Europe.

As soon as their majesties and the ladies of the court were seated, I was shown to my seat, and at half-past twelve the French embassy arrived. The captain of the frigate, M. Dupré, a tall good-looking officer, apparently between forty and fifty years of age, conducted by the Malagasy foreign secretary, was followed by the French consul and the rest of the embassy, and presented to their majesties. The captain delivered an excellent address in French to the king and queen, expressive of the great affection of the emperor and empress for their persons, and joy at the auspicious commencement of their reign, with assurances of his own deeply-felt emotions on this joyous occasion. This he said was the first mission of peace which France had sent to Madagascar, and it was an honour to convey it.

The French consul presented a Malagasy translation of the address which Rahaniraka read, and their majesties suitably acknowledged. Some general conversation then followed between the king and the head of the embassy, in the course of which the former asked if they had suffered from fatigue on the road, to which the latter replied that Mr. Ellis had prepared them to expect a difficult road, especially in the forest, and they had found it so, but had all got through well. The Malagasy officer sitting beside me said, "What! Did you know each other before?" I said no, but he meant that a book which I wrote had prepared him to expect a difficult road.

After the toasts usual on such occasions had been drunk, cake, wine, and a basket of oranges were handed round, when the chief of the embassy rose to depart. The king sent a messenger requesting me to remain, and the queen brought her little adopted boy, the son of her adopted daughter, to shake hands with me. She also called for the remainder of the oranges, which she presented to me, and one of the officers standing by gave them to his attendant to carry to my house. I then followed their majesties to the terrace on the west side of the palace, where they received the salute of the soldiers on duty in the front court, while the band played the national air. When they re-entered the palace, the chief part of the officers took leave, and I returned home accompanied by the bearer of the oranges.

Everything connected with this interview was conducted with the utmost propriety. I was glad to renew my acquaintance with some of the ladies of the court whom I had met on my former visit, and to be introduced to Commodore Dupré, and the naturalist of the embassy, who said they had become familiar with my book, especially during the journey. I was especially pleased with the open friendly bearing of the commodore, and with the sentiments he had expressed, and never found occasion to cherish any other feelings than those of respect towards him.

My scholars came at three o'clock in the afternoon, and a number of Christians from Amparibe in the evening, to bring me one of the tunes of native composition, which I had heard them sing the day before. Also, to ask me to explain to them the account of Melchisedek, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as the meaning of our Lord, when he said the least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than John the Baptist. While they were with me a messenger came from the king to ask me to go and spend the evening with him; but I understood there was a dinner party, and therefore sent an apology, declining the invitation.

Very early the next morning, messengers came from the prime minister saying that he was very ill and wished for some medicine. I went with the messengers and found him suffering from an attack of gout, with both his knees much swollen and very painful. I afterwards sent him some medicine and a lotion; but a messenger soon came to ask me to go and apply the lotion for the first time, which I did without delay, as he seemed to be in great suffering.

On the following morning I was summoned early by the king, and found that he had received a letter from Tamatave, stating that General Johnstone was on his way to the capital, having been sent to crown the king. He said, "What am I to do? The French say Commodore Dupré is to put the crown on my head. I have not two heads!" I said there must be some mistake; that probably it had been said the French and English missions were coming to assist at the coronation, which meant to assist officially on the occasion; that the king of course would adopt such course as he deemed best; that, as it was a great national act of the Malagasy nation, it should be performed by themselves alone. The king said that was his opinion; that, as the throne descended to him by inheritance, he should receive the symbol of his sovereignty neither from France nor England, but should place the crown on his head himself. In this the ministers and nobles present entirely agreed.

At an early hour on the morning of the 5th of August, the secretary came to inform me that letters had arrived from Major-General Johnstone announcing the approach of the mission towards Antananarivo; also from Mr. Caldwell, who had been sent in charge of the presents from the Queen of England. On visiting the king the same afternoon, I found him surrounded by a number of Frenchmen dancing with Malagasy women, a performance with which he appeared much pleased.

My school was but small on the 8th of August, several of my pupils having been appointed to accompany the officers sent to meet General Johnstone and the English Mission. About one

o'clock the latter entered the capital. At their quarters I exchanged a cordial greeting with the bishop and Major Anson, and was afterwards introduced to the general and to Dr. Mellor, who had recently left my friend Dr. Livingstone, and was travelling for his health.

The bishop, who took an early opportunity of explaining to me the object of his visit, expressed his gratification with what he had seen of Christianity amongst the people at Tamatave and along the route, and inquired very particularly into the state of the Christians and the progress of the Gospel in the capital. We conferred together on the best manner of extending Christianity in Madagascar. The governor, he said, had appointed him, and he had come very cheerfully, that he might see for himself the state of the people, the openings for usefulness that existed, and in what part of the country he could co-operate with us in forwarding the evangelization of the island. His lordship added that he did not wish to interfere with our line of operations; but, supposing we considered ourselves equal to the Christian culture of the capital and central provinces, was there not some part of the coast which they could occupy?

I said it had been suggested to me at Mauritius, that missionaries of the Church Missionary Society should occupy Madagascar, and I had always replied, that I did not think that Society would send any missionaries without first conferring with the London Missionary Society. That the understanding between the two Societies not to interfere with each other's spheres of labour had hitherto been so advantageous, that I did not think it likely it would be disregarded in relation to Madagascar. That I had written to England suggesting that the Church Missionary Society should send the Gospel to some part of Madagascar; and that I had thought of both the east and the west coasts, but scarcely saw clearly which should be occupied first.

The bishop then said, "Do you consider yourselves able to

occupy the capital and the central parts of the island?" I replied, "Certainly, with the number of native assistants already available, and the missionaries on their way from home." I then explained the positions proposed to be occupied by the brethren coming out. His lordship said, "I think I should prefer our occupying stations on the north and the east coast." I said, "I should rejoice in your doing so. Had you proposed to come here I might have felt differently. The labours of our Society were commenced here in 1820; we have ever since been connected with this mission field. No other society has, until now, shown any concern or made any efforts for the spiritual benefit of these people; we are hoping to reap the fruits of past years of labour, and should be sorry to be diverted from our work ourselves, to explain to the people the reasons of the difference between us, or to have their minds disturbed and occupied about the religious differences in our own country." The bishop observed, "It must come sometime. They will know that there are differences." I said, "Most likely it will be so, but I hope not now. I can conceive of nothing more likely to unsettle the minds of the people about Christianity itself in their present partially informed state, than the introduction of another form of Protestantism, and there is no need for it. There is room enough for us to show an undivided front without disturbing the minds of the people, or interfering with each other's labours." I added, "In the north you will find the best climate, in the south the most people."

His lordship replied, "I should deem another missionary establishment here undesirable, and injurious rather than otherwise," and then said, "my mind is greatly relieved by this communication. I see my way clearly. I shall most likely go to England to propose to the Church Missionary Society, and other friends, to send out a good mission to the north and the east coast, and we shall thus take part in the great work opened before the Church in the providence of God." He said they might work from the coast until they met us working from the

centre, or we might extend our labours to the south. I replied that we already had churches connected with our mission, perhaps two hundred miles to the south, from whence I had received a letter only a few days before. I also adverted to our station at Tamatave on the east coast, with which and with the native minister his lordship was acquainted, and I said that in the event of any missionaries under his direction being sent there, I would recommend the native Christians to receive them with all kindness; and I should also advise them, if they saw no objection, to unite with the missionaries who might come. I could not answer that they would do so, but I should do nothing to prevent it. After this conversation I went with Captain Anson to my own dwelling.

It was the day of the great market to the north of the capital when the English entered the city, and the news soon circulated amongst the numbers congregated there from the surrounding country; and, regarded in connection with the object of their visit, the arrival of the embassy created a feeling of general satisfaction. I heard from many who were in the market that day, that it was considered quite a gratification to be able to tell those who had not already heard the news, that the English were really come to be present at the coronation of Radama.

Several officers of the palace breakfasted with me the next morning, and said the government were much pleased with the assurances of friendship conveyed in the letters from England, but amused at the reports of rebellion and fighting which seemed to have found their way into the English newspapers. During the forenoon the English flag was hoisted at the general's quarters, and, so far as I heard, was viewed with pleasure by the people as the symbol of existing friendship between the two countries.

In the afternoon the general and the bishop called to ask if I thought it would not be possible to arrange for an earlier celebration of the coronation? I said, I feared not; that the French had already proposed it, but that the king deemed it

right to wait until the representatives from the distant provinces could arrive.

The next day was Sunday. I was sorry to find when I called that the bishop was not well. General Johnstone and Lieut. Oliver accompanied me to the morning service at Analakely. The house was full, and the people attentive during the period of worship. At the close, the general, in compliance with my suggestion, kindly assured them of the pleasure it afforded him to unite with them in waiting upon God, and added welcome words of encouragement. The son of Ramboasalama, and the queen's adopted children, with their father, were present at the service at the king's palace in the afternoon.

The widow of Rainitsontsoraka, whose autobiography has been given, was brought to my house in the afternoon very ill. After preparing something that I hoped would relieve her, she was borne away again in her palanquin; and the same evening some of the preachers and other Christians came to spend a short time with me, and to unite in worship as was our frequent practice on the Sunday evening. In the course of our conversation on this occasion we adverted to the several congregations, and the state of personal religion amongst them. They said that the number of Christians was gradually increasing, and friendly feelings were also frequently manifested by the non-christian portion of the community. They thought there might be between four and five thousand Christians in the capital, though they were never all at public worship at one time; and that there were two thousand more in the suburbs and neighbourhood. They said that the knowledge of the Gospel possessed by some was slight, and their experience of its operation in the heart but limited; that religious feeling was in many produced as much by social influence, as by personal conviction. The great doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ was, they thought, well understood, that the conduct of life was regulated quite as much by the practice and example of Christians, as by teaching and preaching. The Christians,

they said, were still under the influence of their first impressions, and defections in moral conduct, so far as they knew, were of rare occurrence; that notwithstanding the great deficiency of books, their being, not only many families, but some congregations without even a New Testament, yet among the Christians family worship was general, and that in some families where the children went to rest early, the parents prayed with them by themselves. Such, I believe, was the general state of the Christians at that time—a deeply interesting time, but only a transition state.

Two additional pupils, children of the deceased brother of of Ramboasalama, were admitted to my school on the following morning. They were under the guardianship of the queen, who is their aunt, and who sent word that she wished me to treat them as my own children in every respect. The father of the queen's adopted child was also present, and appeared pleased with the attention shown by his sons to the lessons.

As this was the day appointed for the presentation of the English embassy, I went to the palace about noon, and was cordially welcomed by the king and queen. Radama wore the English uniform. The embassy soon afterwards arrived. The general was presented to their majesties by the foreign secretary, and addressing them in a short and appropriate speech, he delivered the letter of the Queen of England, announced the coming of the British consul, and introduced the Bishop of Mauritius, Captain Anson, and the other members of the mission. The bishop then, with a suitable speech, presented the English Bible, the address in which was written by her majesty's hand. Captain Anson, who had charge of the presents, then turning to the queen, informed her majesty that she had not been forgotten by Queen Victoria, who had sent a mantle or robe for her majesty, an announcement which appeared to give much pleasure.

In compliance with the wish of the king I stood near him while he read Queen Victoria's letter. When it was opened, the appearance of the broad black border seemed to affect both

the king and queen; they looked at it with an expression approaching to reverent sadness; and when the king had read it he pressed the general's hand very cordially. Rahaniraka then translated the letter into Malagasy, and although no remark was made, it was evidently received by the whole court with much satisfaction. The king made several inquiries respecting England, and the general afterwards proposing their majesties' health, Radama proposed that of our queen, the band at the same time playing our national anthem, while the native salutation, Tranantitra, was pronounced very emphatically.*

Their majesties and all present seemed much gratified when Captain Anson proposed as a toast: "Perpetual friendship between England and Madagascar," and also informed them it was probable that representatives from other nations would visit them on embassies of friendship and peace. The dignified bearing and expressions of friendship on the part of the general, the bishop, and Captain Anson, appeared to be well-received and appreciated by the king and queen and by the high officers who were present.

After the general and his friends had left, the king asked me to look over the Bible with him, and it was brought to the table, where the inscription in her majesty's writing on the sheet of vellum was the chief object of attention. The excellent photograph of a celebrated picture of the birth of Christ, in the frontispiece, was also greatly admired by all present.

Among the officers in attendance at the presentation were, the son of Ramboasalama the rival of the king, the son of Prince Ramonja the friend of the Christians, both handsome young men, and scarcely less so the son of Rainjohary, who was chief minister of the late queen. Other celebrities were also on duty in the palace, and the satisfaction of the public outside

* This salutation is said sometimes to signify, "May you live a thousand years;" because that expression sometimes signifies an indefinitely long period, but is always used to express a wish for long life to those on whose behalf it is employed.

the courtyard was evident, not in boisterous shouts, but in strong expressions of deep and heartfelt pleasure.

During the afternoon I received a visit from the widow of the late M., De Lastelle, who had come from Tamatave with the French embassy to attend the approaching ceremonial. I have ever since my first visit to Madagascar received great kindness from this descendant of the rulers of the eastern coast, and I was glad to renew my acquaintance with her here, having always considered her entitled to esteem.

The bishop had asked for a private interview with the king, who had appointed twelve o'clock the following day for receiving him. Shortly before that hour the king sent an officer to request my attendance, and I consequently dismissed my school and accompanied the officer. The conversation between his majesty and the bishop and Captain Anson was of an interesting nature, relating chiefly to the progress of Christianity in the country. His lordship presented to the king a handsomely bound prayer-book, manuscript copies of the prayers used at the coronation of Queen Victoria, and a copy of his own address on the presentation of the Bible. All were graciously received by the king and handed to the secretary.

The conversation was much more animated and agreeable than during the former interview. Amongst other subjects some remarks were made respecting the benevolence and compassion of Queen Victoria towards her suffering people, and these acts were coupled with the kindness of King Radama towards the Christians in time of persecution. The king looked at me as if wishing me to say something. I said he had done much for the suffering classes in Madagascar, and the people were grateful. That in some respects he was all that the people could desire, but there was one great thing wanting—the one thing needful. He had not yet become Christian. He looked very gravely towards me, and said, with some emphasis: "He," viz. Mr. Ellis, "knows what is in my heart. He knows that I desire to understand and serve God. I desire—I pray to God

to enlighten my mind—to teach me what I ought to know and to do." The visitors, as well as some of the officers present, appeared to be impressed by these remarks. I have no doubt that the king was sincere when he spoke, and meant what he said, but would forget it when under new and different impulses. The abhorrence of bloodshed and cruelty seemed in him to be innate, and ever present, but in regard to many other things he obeyed the promptings of the moment, and appeared oblivious of all beyond the immediate present.

Two beautiful royal and imperial atlases lying on the table next attracted attention, and looking over these led to some very interesting and suggestive conversation relative to the connection of Madagascar with Africa. After this, the bishop and Captain Anson having expressed a wish to see the king's school, he conducted them to the house, and from that to his occasional singing school, where the pupils sung a number of tunes, English and Malagasy.

After the company had left, the king mentioned that the French consul had informed him that the 15th of August was the birthday of the Emperor of the French, and had invited himself and the queen to dinner on that day. He had also said there would be service in the Catholic church before the dinner, and as that was part of the celebration, it would be suitable for them to attend. He asked if I would go with him? I said I had no objection to show every possible respect towards the emperor, who was acting so friendly a part towards Madagascar, but I thought, that though by others they might be regarded as very good things, I should be out of my place either at the worship in the church, or the conviviality of the dinner.

In the evening the Christians came to ask me to go with them to the general's quarters. On reaching the court in front of the house I found a number of them assembled, and a fine fat ox standing near the door, which they intended as a present. I explained their object to the general, and when, accompanied

by the bishop and Captain Anson, he reached the verandah, Rainimarosandy, a portly Christian officer, advanced a little in front of his companions, and in a brief and sensible speech expressed, on behalf of the Christians of the capital, the great satisfaction which the visit of the general and his companions from England, the country of their earliest friends, had afforded. That they felt, after the kindness shown them, that they were regarded as friends, and were bound by new ties to their friends in England; and that, following the custom of their own country, they had brought a present of an ox, to which he pointed, of which they begged his acceptance as an expression of their gladness on seeing the friends of the Christians, and the friends of Radama amongst them.

"The general returned, with much kindly feeling, an appropriate acknowledgment, to which the bishop added the expression of his satisfaction at meeting with them as Christian friends. I interpreted their addresses, and the parties separated with much apparent pleasure.

There were many excellent men of mark in their own community amongst the Christians; men who had worn the rugged iron chain in prison and in exile, who had drunk the poison draught but survived, who had been themselves sentenced to death, or who had lost, for their faith in Christ, their dearest earthly relatives and friends; and there was on this, as I have often noticed on other occasions, a reality, a genuineness in all their words, and in their whole demeanour, which appeared to make a deep impression on the minds of those who listened.

At noon on the following day, the bishop and Captain Anson came by appointment, and, accompanied by a number of Christians, we went to see Ambohipotsy, at the south end of the capital, where the first Christian martyrs suffered death, and where their heads were fixed on poles; where also were the fragments of a cross on which I believe a Sacalava captive had been crucified at that place of common execution.

We then looked at the rocky ground of Fiadana, about a

mile to the north-west, where the thirteen Christians were stoned to death in July, 1857, after which we proceeded to the rocky precipice from whence a number were thrown in 1849. Captain Anson's estimate of the depth of the fall was greater than mine. He thought it nearer two hundred feet than one hundred and fifty. We then called at the large place of worship at Amparibe, where the people were beginning to assemble for their week-day service, and proceeded to Faravohitra, the place where the four nobles were burned alive, and the bodies of thirteen or fourteen who had previously been thrown from the precipice were all consumed at one time.

In our visit to the spot where the martyrs perished in the flames, we were accompanied by some of the relatives of the sufferers in that cruel tragedy, as well as by others who had narrowly escaped the same fate. Some were deeply affected; others pointed out the line along which the soldiers were arranged, some of whom cried out, "Where is Jehovah, that he does not come to keep you now, and prevent your being burned?" and beyond the line of soldiers were the friends, trembling for themselves while receiving the last recognition of the sufferers.

In sight of this mountain ridge was the spot where their sentence was passed upon them, and where, as they sate on the ground, they saw the fires kindled in which they were to be consumed; the building in which they had been accustomed to meet and worship God; the prison in which they had been confined, and the villages, gardens, and rice grounds, with the path along which they had travelled their last earthly journey, all mapped out before them.

The bishop considered these places not only important on account of the associations which would be connected with them in future generations, perhaps more strongly than at present, but also excellent as sites for Christian churches. More than one of my companions exclaimed, while gazing over the wide-spread plain, "Well may this be called the 'city of a thousand towns!'"

CHAPTER VI.

Celebration of the fête of the Emperor—Arrival of the British consul—Dinner to the British embassy—Reported state of morals among the people—Conversation respecting intoxication—Visit of the Bishop of Mauritius to the Christian congregations—Presents from Queen Victoria to the King and Queen—Other presents—Presentation of the British consul—Conference with the leaders of the Christians respecting the distribution of the Scriptures—Conversation of the King with the priest—Visit of the General to the King—Position of Antananarivo—Aspect of the country eastward of the capital—Arrival and welcome of the missionaries—Introduction of the missionaries to the King and Queen—Reading in the new Bible—Visit to the prime minister—United communion of the churches and the missionaries—Public worship at the King's house—Letter from the Pope—Dinner to the King and the English embassy at my house—Adventures of the King—Public signing of the treaty with France—Conversation respecting the concession to Mr. Lambert.

EVENTS stirring and unusual in this remote inland mountain city seemed to be crowding in close succession upon the usually undisturbed quietude of its inhabitants.

On the morning of the fifteenth of August, the birthday of the Emperor of the French was, in this comparatively unknown and supposed barbarian region of the world, made known to the people by the waving of the silken folds of the flag of France at the residence of the consul. Mass was celebrated at the French church, and a dinner was given in honour of the day at the French consul's country house, at which the king and queen of Madagascar, and the members of the English embassy were welcomed as guests, and where the fête was celebrated with great hospitality and much friendly feeling.

The firing of cannon at intervals during the forenoon of the next day announced the arrival of T. C. Pakenham, Esq., Her

Britannic Majesty's consul for Madagascar. At three o'clock on the afternoon of that day a dinner was given to General Johnstone and other members of the English mission at the house of the commander-in-chief, to which, as the only other English resident in the place, I was invited. The house, which stands on the eastern side of an extensive courtyard, elevated twenty feet above the road to the palace, from which it is reached by a flight of stone steps leading to an arched stone gateway, is one of the best built dwellings in the capital. The room in which the dinner was served was spacious, lofty, suitably furnished, and well lighted. The dinner was good, and well served. The king's band occupied the courtyard in front. The host appeared to find pleasure in dispensing the hospitality of his sovereign, and hilarity and mutual goodwill characterized the companionship of the Malagasy and the English. Before seven o'clock the Bishop of Mauritius and myself took leave, followed, I believe, soon after by the general.

My own pleasure in these proceedings was diminished by hearing of the state of morals found to exist among the people, which the bishop had previously informed me had been reported to him by some of the officers. I remarked, when it was mentioned, that, grievous as it most certainly was, and knowing, as I did, that intemperance had recently increased in the country, and was often exhibited in a most humiliating and offensive manner, I had never seen any want of decency in the conduct of the people; that although the state of morals was far below that outwardly exhibited in more civilized and Christian communities, the Malagasy had in this respect always appeared to me superior to the heathen portion of the South Sea islanders, among whom, in earlier life, I had resided. Increased intercourse with foreigners was not likely to diminish these evils, which I believed Christianity alone could cure.

My own fears that the existing state of the capital might present temptations productive of occasions for deep regret, had been greatly increased when, two days before, on going to the

king, I found that he had had a number of French and English officers to dine with him on the preceding evening, and had become intoxicated,—which his own officers said was very easily effected. He was inert and dull, and not like himself, when I paid my usual visit; and I spoke to him of the danger and disgrace of so forgetting himself. He said he was sorry, and would guard against a repetition; that his best friend was very angry with him for associating with drunken men. I said it was very right in her to be angry, and added, "You should not forget what is due to your own character and your position. Nobody can respect a drunken man."

Later in the same day, and after I had returned home, the general and the bishop called at my house, and I accompanied them to the king. Before they left him some native airs were sung, also the Malagasy national anthem, and on the general intimating his approval of it, the king ordered a copy of the music to be made for him.

The next day was Sunday. Between nine and ten o'clock the bishop and the general accompanied me to Amparibe, the most westerly place of worship in the capital. More than a thousand persons were listening with serious attention to a native preacher, who was closing his sermon when we entered. So closely were the people sitting to each other that we found it difficult to reach the place where the preacher was standing. As soon as we were seated they sung a hymn, and closed the service with prayer. The congregation remained seated, and increasing numbers gathered round the doors and windows of the large but rustic-looking building. After the introductory portions of a fresh service were finished, I informed the people of the joyful fact that the missionaries from England had arrived at Tamatave, of which I had that morning received the intelligence. I then introduced the Bishop of Mauritius, who delivered a brief, instructive, and excellent address from Rom. xv. 29, which I had the pleasure of interpreting to the people. We then took leave of that congregation, and proceeded to the

chapel at Ambatonakanga, whence, after the bishop had spoken to the people, we returned to our homes. There was a large number of persons at Ambohimitsimbina, the king's place, in the afternoon, and in consequence of their attention, I felt more hopeful of some good being effected among them than I had ever done before.

The bishop visited me in the evening, and we spent an hour very pleasantly together talking of the future of Christianity in the country. He said that what he had heard that day was worth coming to Madagascar for. The next morning his lordship took leave of a number of Christians at my house. We both prayed with them, he in English, I in Malagasy. He then departed, kindly taking letters for me for Mauritius and England.

At noon I was sent for to the palace, where the king showed me the presents from Queen Victoria, and right royal presents they were, comprising a portrait of her Majesty of full-length size—an excellent painting, and good likeness, taken ten or more years ago. There was also a valuable rifle; a rich velvet robe, embroidered with gold, for the queen; a field-marshal's uniform complete, for the king; a large silver-gilt tankard and goblets; and an excellent reed band of twenty-five instruments. The first and last-mentioned articles, together with the uniform, greatly delighted the king, who called for some of the band-masters to try the instruments. Nothing could have been selected that would have been more acceptable, or more highly prized than her majesty's picture, respecting which both the king and queen asked several questions.

We had scarcely finished our inspection of the presents when an officer announced the approach of Mr. Pakenham, the newly-arrived British consul, whom I had met at Mauritius on my former visit to Madagascar. He was accompanied by Mrs. Pakenham, and a French medical gentleman. On being introduced to the king he presented his credentials and, addressing his majesty in French, stated that his duties would be per-

formed in perfect harmony and good will with his friend the French consul. M. Laborde interpreted his address to the king, who expressed his high appreciation of the friendship of England, and his hope that it would be perpetual.

About the same time as the valuable articles already noticed arrived, the king received a present from Mr. Silver of London, with which he was very much pleased. It consisted of a most complete and valuable canteen, with elegant plated fittings, ornamented with the royal crest and initials. It was accompanied by a complete cooking apparatus, all arranged in a manner exceedingly convenient for travelling. The gift was also peculiarly acceptable, from having been presented by an English merchant, and the king expressed his hope, that the intercourse between the class to which the gentleman belonged and the Malagasy would become more frequent. Some French officers who came in while the king was inspecting the present expressed their admiration of the excellence and completeness of the whole.

Besides my ordinary missionary engagements with the people, I found it highly advantageous to call the leaders among the Christians together occassionally to confer with them, and to offer such explanations as might be required; and for this purpose I had requested them to meet me that afternoon, when I informed them that six missionaries, of whose landing I had previously informed them, might soon be expected. They promised to clean, and prepare for their temporary accommodation, the houses which had been provided; and asked if there were any Bibles. When I informed them there were portions of the Scriptures, and a printing press to furnish other books, they were highly gratified, and wished me to write down their names and the number of books they each wished to have for themselves and their friends. I said, that excepting the copies of parts of the Old Testament bound together, there would be enough to supply the wants of all; and deeming it wisest to begin as I thought it would be best to proceed, rather than

have to change afterwards, I told them that the books would be given to those who were able to read though too poor to pay for them, but that other persons would be required to pay a small sum towards the cost of production and transport of the books, —about fourpence or sixpence for a bound copy of the New Testament, and double that sum for parts of the Old Testament bound together, which money would be sent to England to those who had provided the books.

Some of those present observed that in former times both the rich and the poor had received these books gratis. This led me to repeat what I had before stated—that the help of their friends in England was now given under somewhat different circumstances than those under which it had been afforded when the missionaries first came to Madagascar. The missionaries found them heathen then: they were Christians now. They came then to persuade them to become Christians, but now to help them to act like Christians by providing for the nurture of their own spiritual life, and for making the Gospel known to their heathen countrymen. That their faith would only become living and strong as Christianity was prized and sustained among themselves, and not left to depend upon foreign support.

Two or three rich men in the company recommended me to follow the conduct of the Catholic priests, who gave books to the people. I said it was generous of the priests to do so; but as I did not think it was right, or that the books could be so highly prized, or so carefully preserved, as by those who were able paying a small sum for them, I could not adopt their advice. The same parties then urged that the people would deem it as a sort of sacrilege to sell the Bible for money, because the people regarded it with reverence as something sacred. I replied that there was danger of our mixing superstitious feelings with our estimate of the Bible. That in regard to its origin and its design, it was the most sacred and precious treasure the Christian could possess. It was the means whereby God in-

structed us concerning himself, his love, his power, and his willingness to save mankind; and that the knowledge of these things was a benefit and a privilege which no gold could purchase, and which was given freely. That the wisdom and love of God taught in the Bible were divine and sacred; but the paper and other material parts of the Bible were common, the same as those used in making other books, and had all been purchased with money. Therefore, while it would be unkind and wrong to withhold the Scriptures from the poor because they were unable to pay for them, it was right that those who had money should return a small portion of the cost to those who had paid for making and sending the books across the sea.

Other Christians said they were thankful that their friends in England had bought the paper, had the Bibles printed and sent out, and they would very cheerfully repay what was required to help their friends to prepare more books for themselves and others, and proposed themselves to pay a larger sum than I had mentioned. I was glad of this encouragement, for I was convinced by past experience that the books themselves would be more carefully preserved, and the teaching, not only of the Bible, but of other books, more highly valued, by a small sum being required for them, than by an indiscriminate gratuitous distribution.*

* When the discussion respecting the books was finished, I mentioned to the people that the king had informed me that the Catholic priests had expressed a wish to offer prayer on the platform on the occasion of the approaching coronation, and that when the king objected they had proposed to pray among the people around the platform, to which he had agreed, and

* Our discussion about the books was reported to the prime minister the same evening, and such was the desire of his people for them, that early in the morning one of his aides-de-camp came to say the minister would send his own slaves to Tamatave for one box of books and another of school materials for the use of his own people, and would pay for them when they arrived, if I would write to the person in whose charge they were to deliver them, which I did while the messenger waited.

that he then asked what I thought the Protestants would do. I said that if he wished to acknowledge the true God, and to ask his blessing on the great national transaction, a Malagasy Christian would most appropriately officiate on the occasion. He said the crown came to him by hereditary right, and he took it by the will of the heads of the nation who had tendered their allegiance to him, and did not desire that any priest, heathen or Christian, Protestant or Catholic, should take part in his public assumption of the symbol of sovereignty. He said the Christians if they chose might stand together among the other divisions of the people, and pray if they thought it right, but that it would be offensive to the heathen who constituted the great majority of the nation, if in the act of his assuming the crown there should be any Christian praying, as there would be no heathen ceremonies on the occasion.

My companions said they thought it would be well for them to gather in one place, and for one of their number to pray, as they were part of the nation. I said the great transaction was one which the Christians could not regard with indifference, and on which they must all earnestly desire, and could not fail to implore, the Divine blessing, whether they prayed for it publicly or not.

When I saw the king the next day he mentioned that the Abbé Webber, when introducing to him that morning two recently arrived priests, had urged upon him the duty of building a religious house for them, and assisting in their work; saying that he himself ought to confess his sins, be baptized, and become a Catholic, and then he would have prosperity and hap-happiness in this life, and Heaven in the next: that he, the speaker, was the priest of God, had the key of heaven, and could open to him; that prayer should be offered in Latin; that unless he was baptized and became a Catholic, he would not go to heaven.

I remarked that if the priest himself believed these things, it was right in him to declare them; that he, the king, heard

what the priest said, and he knew what the Bible taught. The king said he had told the priest he was pleased with his giving medicine to the people; that as to himself he knew that he was not a good man, but that he should confess his sins to God only, should pray to him to enlighten his mind, and should do what his heart told him was right, and he did not think being baptized would make him sure of heaven without something else.

The priest also complained, the king said, of so many people going to the English teachers, and so few to the French. That he had come out to teach the people, and wished them to come to be taught, but only a few came. To which the king replied that there was perfect religious freedom, and the people went to that teaching which they preferred. He neither sent them, nor prevented them going to one or the other.* I availed myself of the opportunity this conversation afforded, to explain as simply and plainly as I could what was the nature of that great change which was wrought by the Holy Spirit in the heart, and manifested in the life of true Christians, and of which baptism was the outward sign.

Two days afterwards, when I had been reading with the king, he informed me that some of the high nobles were displeased with his proceedings: with the advisers he had selected, and with his intimacy with foreigners, whose influence they said would ruin the kingdom. I told him I felt sure the English were his friends, and desired most sincerely the prosperity of Madagascar.

* For some of the Catholic priests I had a great respect. In their activity, self-denial, and patience under privations, they sometimes offered examples which we might advantageously follow. The Abbé Webber—or Father Joseph as he was called by the people—was one of this class. He had laboured long among the Sacalavas on the west coast, had acquired the language of the people, and had suffered much, without being cheered by encouraging success. He came to the capital before the accession of Radama, and appeared quiet and active in his duties. We did not often meet, and he was not very communicative when we did. I know nothing of his inner life, and how much soever I might deplore the errors of his creed, I could not but admire his industry, endurance, and devotedness to his work. He died while I was at the capital.

On the following day, while I was reading with the king, General Johnstone paid him a visit, when the king commenced a deeply interesting conversation respecting the difficulties of his position, arising from the wish of some of the nobles to return to the policy of the former reign. The general offered him excellent advice, counselled him to avoid companionship with bad men in his public duties, and at other times not to allow such indiscriminate access to his person, but to associate only with the best men, to set a good example himself, endeavouring to do what was right, and trusting to God for protection. I recommended him to try, even at the cost of some sacrifice of his own views and feelings, to seek the co-operation of the high nobles and great men of the nation, and give them influence as well as the younger men who had been his companions from his youth, expressing my opinion that the influence of the more experienced men would give stability to his government. He said he had tried, but that his soul revolted from some of the proposals respecting the taking of life which had been made to him.

Allusion was made on this occasion to the removal of the adopted children of the queen from my instruction to that of the Catholic priests. I said I was sorry they had been taken from me, but could understand the force of the reason assigned by her majesty for making the change, which was, to prevent any apparent cause of dissatisfaction and complaint from other parties of undue partiality shown to the English.

On the morning of the 30th of August, the king having heard that the missionaries had reach Ambatomanga, sent four officers of the palace to bid them welcome, and conduct them to the capital. By the side of the main road from the palace to the north, at its junction with the road leading to the east, there is a level space on the top of the hill occupied on its southern side by a signal gun, and by the tomb of a renowned judge, who, in former days, under the appropriate name of the Upright Lord, dispensed justice to the Malagasy. On the northern side of the road, to the east, are some large water-troughs, used

in administering the oath of allegiance, and two cannons for firing signals or salutes. This place is not only a court of justice, but a frequent rendezvous for officers and others by whom the public questions of the day are discussed. About mid-day I ascended to this spot, which was immediately above my dwelling, to look out for the expected missionaries.

Antananarivo is a city of splendid prospects. Not of landscapes enlivened or adorned by the costly structures of human energy and genius, or clothed with the soft luxurious verdure of a summer garden in the cultivated land of the olive and the vine, but of scenes where Nature, exhibiting the solid massive vastness of her colossal forms, moulded in lines of grandeur and eternal beauty, strikes the soul with wonder, reverence, and awe.

Built on a long oval mountain, which attains a greater altitude than any in that region, the city commands a view of the adjacent country in every direction. Less extensive and varied than the grand panorama which surrounds the southern extremity of the mountain, the distinctive features of the country east of the capital have seldom appeared to me more clearly marked and beautifully varied than they did on this occasion. The dry season was drawing to its close, but the rains had not begun to fall. The aspect of the mountains was arid and brown, and verdure was only seen where there was irrigation or a natural supply of water. The glare of the sun was moderated by clusters of white clouds passing slowly over the face of the heavens, and the alternation of sunshine and shadow softened and enlivened the landscape, as I stood looking for the approach of the mission party. On my right, and less than two hundred yards distant, the great palace rose one hundred and twenty or thirty feet above the highest ground in the city, protected at each end of the roof by the tall lightning conductors, and surmounted in the centre by the figure of the *voro mahery*—bird of strength, the crest of the Hovas.* Still nearer, on the same side of the

* The *voro mahery* is a compactly-formed, crested bird, of a light brown

main road, was the house of the sister of the late, and the mother of the present, queen, which, next to the palace, is the loftiest house in the capital. Equally near on my left was the house of the second highest officer in the army, and that of the present prime minister, shaded on the eastern side by trees. Immediately in front was the rocky and precipitous road leading down to the stone-built gateway in the ancient eastern rampart of the city.

The sides of the hill, to a depth of 150 yards, were covered with houses built on terraces, and often shaded by trees wherever ground enough could be levelled to admit a building. At the bottom of the road, 200 yards or more below the place where I stood, was the village of Fa-li-a-ri-vo—a thousand joys; on the left, cultivated ground and rice terraces covered the hollows between the hills; and on the right, at some distance, was the piece of water in which pet crocodiles were said to be formerly kept. A little to the east, a pleasantly-situated sort of farm-house, and gardens, water, and umbrageous trees, which had belonged to the late Prince Rambosalama, stood near the road leading to Nosiarivo—a thousand islands—where there is a villa-kind of house with beautifully-cultivated grounds, a delightful retreat belonging to the royal family, where also the vine has been cultivated, and many exotic fruits might be acclimatised.

Scarcely more than a mile from the village, at the bottom of the hill, was Ambatoroka, a place of public assemblies, also the rock of judgment, from which sentence of death was pronounced on criminals guilty of capital crimes; and about half-a-mile farther on was the place where they were forthwith executed. Between Faliarivo and Ambatoroka were a number of tombs, some rude and ancient, others modern and of greater pre-

colour, a Malagasy species of falcon or hawk. It is the heraldic symbol and designation of the district in which the capital stands, and also of the people of that district, and on this account is sometimes spoken of as the symbol of the Hovas, or dominant race in the island.

tensions. The ground nearer the city was partially enclosed, and cultivated with manioc, sweet potatoes, French beans, pine-apple, sugar-cane, maize, and bananas; the low undulating grassy plains were dotted over with native dwellings, or farm-steads of three or four houses, and a cattle pen, sheltered by a few trees, and all enclosed within a circular wall; while the higher grounds, or summits of the hills, were not unfrequently crowned with a native village or clump of umbrageous trees. Beyond this, the sometimes broken and rocky but more frequently massive rounded mountain-tops rose one above another, occasionally in range after range, until the dim outline of their summits seemed to be lost in the clouds resting on the distant horizon.

The Goakia, or large black and white crow of Madagascar, was cawing in the adjacent trees, or on the roofs of the houses, where they often build their nests. The Papango, or kite, was wheeling and hovering over the fields, while numberless bright-coloured yellow and purple butterflies flitted to and fro in the sunshine among the flowers and shrubs near the dwellings.

Standing around the enclosure of the judge's tomb, or seated on fragments of rock beside one of the guns, citizens and strangers were gazing listlessly on the scene, or discussing the news of the day, occasionally enlivening their discourse by the circulation of their favourite bamboo cylinder of pulverized tobacco, while the slaves might be seen toiling and straining under their burdens up the steep and rugged way. Nobles and officers in their European dresses, or more graceful native lambas, artisans or servants, were passing incessantly along the main road of the city; and the buyers and sellers were eagerly bargaining in the little market at the foot of the hill. The season for planting rice was at hand, and the slaves, men and women, were busy in the fields, above their ancles in soft mud, repairing and clearing out the water-courses, and saturating and flooding the soil to receive the young rice plants which were to produce the food for another year. The washer men and women were either

sitting in the water beating the linen on a stone, or watching it while spread out to dry on the grass near the stream; while in every direction the villagers in their loose flowing lambas were passing along the narrow paths winding over the grassy plain.

At length the mission party, and the long train of bearers with their luggage, were seen crossing over the distant hill, and sweeping down the broad road towards the capital. I descended and met them just below the village at the bottom of the hill, where I had the pleasure of welcoming to Madagascar Mr. and Mrs. Toy, Dr. and Mrs. Davidson, and Mr. Stagg: the rest of the party were detained for want of bearers. Lieutenant Oliver, who had kindly gone out to meet them, was now in their company. Finding they had travelled almost twenty miles without breakfast, I left them to hasten back and see after some refreshment. Captain Anson kindly invited them to a breakfast at the quarters of the embassy, but we found the refreshment provided by the Christians was ample and already prepared. General Johnstone bade them welcome as they reached the summit of the hill, and when, soon after they halted at the houses provided for them, they were joyfully received by the Christians, who saw in their arrival the answer to many ardent longings and often-repeated prayers.

Four days afterwards, the other missionaries having arrived in the interval, I accompanied them to the palace, where they were introduced to the king and queen, who, surrounded by the chief officers of the government, bade them welcome, expressing themselves pleased with their arrival, and especially with that of the wives of the missionaries, as that seemed to mean a residence in the country, and not simply a visit. More than once their majesties said—"May God bless you, and preserve your health here!" The general and other English officers, who also had been invited to the palace, congratulated the mission party on their arrival.

I then presented the English Bible, sent by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to the king; and Rahaniraka, the foreign

secretary, translated the address from the Society, adding, as evidence of the estimation in which the Bible was held in England, that Lord Shaftesbury, the president of the society by whom the address was signed, was related to Lord Palmerston, and that Queen Victoria was patron of the institution.

After some general conversation relating chiefly to the progress of education in England, refreshments were handed round, and the missionaries withdrew. The king then examined the Bible, admiring its large bold letters and clear printing, observing that it was the largest he had ever seen. "We will read in this book to-day," he remarked, as he left to conduct the queen to her apartments. When he returned, we sate down at the table and read the Fourteenth Chapter of Exodus,—the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, which came in the usual course of our Old Testament reading. On visiting the missionaries afterwards, I was sorry to find Mr. Stagg, who had not been able to accompany us to the palace, prostrate with fever.

The next day I accompanied the missionaries to the prime minister, who also gave them a very cordial welcome, and after inquiring what they would teach, and how they would promote the improvement of the people, as well as expressing his earnest desire to see the education of the people resumed, he asked Dr. Davidson and myself to accompany him and Ratsimihara, an A.D.C., to an adjacent room, where he spoke to the doctor about his own recent illness. In answer to my inquiry whether he wished the medical missionary to reside near him, and would, as he had promised me, build a house for him, he replied that he still wished the doctor to be near him, and would send his attendant to show us the place on which he would build a house for Dr. Davidson, adding that he would send a servant to cook for him, as well as find a store-room for his medicine. We thanked him for his generous proposal, and when we left, an officer accompanied us to Ambohimanoro, at the north-east corner of Andohalo, where he led us over an enclosure then occupied by the houses of the minister's dependents. The

officer said the existing houses would be cleared away and a new dwelling-house erected. The doctor signified through the officer his acceptance of the offer, and I returned, grateful for this evidence of favour towards the newly-arrived mission.

On the following day I waited on the king in company with Mr. Toy, and when we had finished reading, my companion exhibited to the king his music-books, and the modulator or key used in teaching singing, and explained the new musical notation. The king sent for his best singers, who were delighted with the simplicity of the new mode of teaching singing. On his majesty expressing a wish that Mr. Toy should come and live near him, and be minister in the Memorial Church which it was proposed to erect at Ambohipotsy, the latter said he should be happy to do so, and would confer with the other missionaries on the subject.

Before the week was over, Mr. Stagg, who had been sent out to take charge of the central training school and to superintend the general education among the people, was so far recovered as to pay me a visit to confer about his own proceedings. He emained while I was engaged with my pupils, after which we went to the king, who received Mr. Stagg kindly, and made many inquiries about the progress of education in England, and said he hoped that he would not find the Malagasy youth unteachable scholars. The king showed Mr. Stagg over the stone school-house, where, in one of the rooms, we found his band practising on the instruments from England, in the possession of which the king expressed extreme pleasure.

In conversation with the king afterwards he said he had given directions for a space to be set apart for the Christians in the marking out of the ground to be occupied by the several divisions of the people at the approaching coronation. He also expressed a wish that I would, if practicable, take a photograph of the ceremony, which I promised to attempt if the weather should be favourable.

On the first Sunday in September the missionaries accompa-

nied me to Amparibe. We found the house filled, and the officiating minister concluding his service when we entered. The non-communicants, about two-thirds of the assembly, then retired,* and the communicants from the other two churches in the capital entered and nearly filled the place. The men sat on one side and the women on the other, to the number of 700 or 800 altogether.

The Christians had arranged this united communion in which to meet the newly-arrived missionaries, thus to manifest their sense of the Divine goodness; and in celebrating with them the dying love of Christ, by partaking together of the symbols of the one great sacrifice on the Cross, to unite in renewing their solemn self-consecration to God. After singing and prayer, and the reading of appropriate portions of Scripture, the bread and the wine were dispensed by the native pastor of the church in which we were assembled, and myself. An address was then given by one of the native ministers of Analakely, and a native minister of another church closed the service with prayer.

The greater part of the assembly were neatly, some of them tastefully attired, in clean native or European clothing; and when I looked at the calm, quiet, cheerful countenances of the many in that assembly seated on the ground before me, and remembered the deeply interesting events in the Christian history of a number with whom I was intimately acquainted, and reflected further that less than forty years before there was not

* We afterwards noticed that the non-communicants usually retired during the celebration of the communion, or were requested by the officers of the church to do so, and found it was considered too sacred for any but recipients to be present at its celebration. We told them there was no sacredness imparted to the bread and the wine by its being used in that ordinance; it was still simple bread and wine; that the sacredness of the ordinance consisted in the unfolding of the Divine love and grace which it signified, by the Holy Ghost to their own spirits, and the experience of that love and grace in their own hearts; that the presence of non-communicants could not interfere with their spiritual benefit, while it might excite inquiry among them, and lead to their seeking the same blessed privileges.

a single believer in Christ in Madagascar, I could not but wonder at the goodness of God and the power of his Gospel.

The missionaries appeared gratified with the spectacle before them, and observed that they had never witnessed such a numerously attended communion in England. It was indeed, after making every necessary abatement, to a Christian missionary, a soul-moving spectacle. These communicants had all been admitted to Christian fellowship by the native pastors; and though many had but recently emerged from the superstition and moral defilement of heathenism, and many had only a limited acquaintance with the teachings of the Scriptures and the rules of Christian life, and could not be compared with the better taught and trained communicants in older Christian countries; yet they knew of the love and mercy of God to sinful men, and of the great salvation by Jesus Christ. They accepted with all their hearts these precious truths, and were sincere in following, so far as they understood it, God's holy word. And notwithstanding all acknowledged deficiencies, such a company as were there assembled could not but encourage the hopes of the abler European teachers who were now associated with them, that they might find among them efficient fellow-workers in bearing the blessings of the Gospel into the wide regions of heathenism around.

In the afternoon we went together to the religious service at the king's house. The general and the English officers, as well as a number of the natives, had already arrived. The king was not present, but sent a messenger to say that he could not attend, as the French commodore and consul had come to discuss the terms of the treaty with France. We proceeded with the service, and after an address in Malagasy, I preached in English. The king, with some of his officers, entered towards the close of the worship, and after its termination he expressed his regret that he had not been with us. I was told afterwards by an officer who was present, that it had been proposed for the band which accompanied the French to play in the court-yard

during the conference, but that the king had refused to allow it because the English were engaged in religious worship, and would be disturbed. On leaving, the missionaries accompanied me to my house, and we spent this the evening of our first Sunday in Madagascar together, in reading the Scriptures and in social prayer.

Three days after this a messenger from the palace informed me that the king wished to see me. On my arrival, he told me with some excitement that he had received through the French a letter from the Pope, which he wished me to read. It was dated in the preceding month of May, and written in Latin, with a Malagasy translation. It acknowledged the receipt of a letter written by Radama in 1861; congratulated him on his accession to the throne; on the enlightened and humane policy with which he had inaugurated his reign; and expressed his satisfaction at his esteem for the Holy Catholic Church which extended over every part of the world; also his pleasure at the king's application for Roman Catholic missionaries to inculcate the true faith among the Malagasy. The letter commended to his protection and encouragement the Catholic missionaries sent to Madagascar, added flattering compliments to his Serene Majesty, and closed with the Pope's signature.

The king said he had not written to the Pope for missionaries, and had only said to the Catholics that there was perfect liberty for all foreigners to come to Madagascar and practise and propagate their religion, if they wished to do so. Whether he had done more it was not my business to inquire. In every instance in which I heard of his having expressed an opinion it was adverse to the Romanists' faith, on account chiefly of that religious party having persecuted and put to death those of a different faith from their own. As I closed my reading with the king two priests came in, and I left soon afterwards.

The king had repeatedly observed that he had never been to see me in my own house, and it was intimated to me that, as he went sometimes to visit the French consul, it might be well for

me to ask him. I therefore invited both the king and queen to dine with me on an early day. They promised to do so, but when the day arrived the queen sent word that illness prevented her accompanying his majesty, but she would come on a future day.

My largest room was cleared for the occasion. My English and Malagasy friends furnished me with tables and chairs, a handsome dinner-service, glass, and plate, with some wine and biscuits. Two female friends, the wives of officers living near me, arranged the curtains for my windows of pink muslin with white fringe, and before the recess in which stood my bed, arranged very tastefully white muslin curtains, bringing also a richly-coloured figured silk coverlid for the bed. These friends, with their servants and my own, laid out the table. My friends also, according to Malagasy usage, helped in providing the dinner. When the room was finished, and the table spread, with the exception of a bunch of roses and other flowers which I was just placing in a vase for the centre, the king's private secretary came to look at my clock, the royal watches not being very exact. It was then ten minutes past three; the dinner had been fixed for four, in order that the queen might be able to return early.

As soon as the secretary left I proceeded with my toilette, for the completion of which I had to seek such accommodation as the general overthrow of my domestic arrangements permitted. In a few minutes the sound of music was heard, and my fat servant Mahatana came running in a state of great excitement to tell me the king was coming. The men and women hurried out of the house in all directions. One female slave rushed in with a basket of pancakes, which she placed on the middle of the table; another brought in a basket of tumblers, which she had been washing, and put them down in the same way; but by a little more vehemence than usual, I got them to take the things away, and then, looking out of the window, I saw, over the wall around the yard of my house, the

bayonets of the king's guard moving along the path outside towards the steps leading up to my gate.

I hurried on my dress, and met the king at the door. It was not yet half-past three, though his majesty's watch indicated four o'clock. He altered his watch, and then we chatted together with his officers until the general with the members of the English embassy and Dr. and Mrs. Davidson arrived, when the soup was placed on the table, and we took our seats. The general and Captain Anson were accompanied by their own servants, and with my two house-servants, under the superintendence of a friend, they managed very well. The fish, which was better than usual, and tolerably well cooked, followed the soup, and when that was removed, a hind-quarter of small roast mutton was placed at one end of the table, and a couple of roast fowls at the other, with good English ham, and a number of other dishes, including one which is a great favourite in Madagascar. This consists of the skin of a fowl stuffed with a kind of sausage meat and roasted. These were followed by rice boiled in a mould placed in a dish and covered with white sauce or custard, pine-apple tart, stewed pine-apple, fried bananas, rice-flour pancakes, and fritters of wheaten flour. The dessert consisted of pine-apples, oranges, bananas, marmalade, and biscuits. The oranges, the marmalade, and the biscuits, seemed to find great favour, but the pine-apples and bananas were not touched.

Though wine was on the table it was scarcely tasted during the dinner. But it now devolved on me as a matter of courtesy to propose the health of the king our guest; and while the servants were filling the glasses with champagne (the general's present), the king's band, stationed in the court-yard outside, were ordered to play the Malagasy national anthem, and all wished, as Malagasy etiquette requires, that his majesty might live to be old, even to 1000 years. The king soon afterwards asked me to propose in his name the health of Queen Victoria, and the band was then ordered to play our "God save the Queen."

The king was generally an agreeable companion, and conversation continued free and pleasant. The king was in excellent spirits, and the commander-in-chief appeared quite at his ease. Very little wine was drunk, and it occurred to me that probably such an English company had never before been so associated with the Malagasy. When the health of General Johnstone and the English embassy was proposed, the general briefly acknowledged the toast, and proposed the health of the commander-in-chief and the Malagasy army. Coffee was now served, and as the shadows of evening fell, a large lamp, furnished by my home friends Messrs. Warners, which all admired, filled the room with bright clear light. Tea was brought soon after eight o'clock, and as the doctor had to see the prime minister, he left with Mrs. Davidson soon afterwards.

The king was particularly cheerful and communicative, and in the course of the evening related a number of singular escapes which he had had—once, when he was returning home, seven men were lying in ambush by the side of the road, armed with knives and spears to attack him; but as he spurred his horse right in among them, they fled in all directions, though his aide-de-camp called after them to stop. At another time, a mad drunken man violently broke open the door of the room in which he was, and was about to attack him, when a friend who was with him seized a glass bottle or decanter, to throw at the man's head, which deterred him until the sentries on duty came and took him away. He related also, how he had once nearly killed himself by smoking hemp, which rendered him for a while insensible, during which time he had some extraordinary dreams, of which he still retained the most distinct and vivid recollection. He related also many of his hazardous endeavours to deliver the condemned Christians from prison, or to aid in their concealment and escape. His officers, who had been associated with him in some of these adventures, joining freely in the conversation, the time passed pleasantly until *gun-fire*, when all inhabitants of the city are expected to be

in-doors. The king then ordered the lanterns to be prepared, and soon after ten o'clock, accompanied by his officers, as well as by Captain Anson and Lieutenant Oliver, and attended by his guard, and the band playing before him, he proceeded to the palace. Every one present spoke afterwards of having spent a pleasant evening.

About noon the next day a messenger from the king required my attendance at the palace, where, on arriving, I found that the members of the French embassy and their countrymen, together with General Johnstone and his aide-de-camp, were assembled at the signing of the treaty between the Emperor of the French and the King of Madagascar. The king's foreign secretary read the Malagasy text, after which M. Dupré, the chief of the French embassy, read the French document, and both were duly signed. The treaty was not unfriendly to the Malagasy, but I thought, on some points, it did not seem unlikely that difficulties might arise between the subjects of the contracting parties. The people were generally and justly gratified by the conclusion of a solemn treaty engagement of amity and peace between France and Madagascar.

The concession to M. Lambert, or the engagement between the king and that gentleman, which had likewise been read, signed, and also attested by the French consul, and the chief of the French mission, was exceedingly objectionable. It authorised M. Lambert to form a company to develop the natural resources of Madagascar, to take possession of such unoccupied lands as might suit their purposes, to work mines, fell timber, cultivate the soil, construct roads, canals, building-yards, and other works of public utility. In furtherance of this object the king ceded to this company, of which M. Lambert was to be the chief, the exclusive privilege of working any mines that might be already known, or might be hereafter discovered in Madagascar, to select any unoccupied territory on the coast or in the interior that the company might desire to cultivate, and declared that they should become proprietors of such unoc-

cupied lands as they might choose, or as they might wish to occupy, or of which they might already have taken possession.

The king further conceded to the company the privilege of coining money for circulation in the country, and stamping upon it the likeness of the king. It was also stipulated that the company should pay no duty on the metal they might raise, or the articles they might produce, and should have the privilege of exporting the produce of the mines, plantations, &c., free of all duty, and of importing all articles required for the use of the company, duty free. A manufactory at some distance from the capital, together with its workmen, was ceded to the company, and one of the palaces near the capital was given to become its central establishment. The king engaged to favour the said company, especially in obtaining labourers, and the company was to help him in promoting the amelioration of the condition of the people, and in promoting the civilisation of the people, and the prosperity of his reign. Such was the purport of the document which, on the 3rd of November, 1861, was first signed by the king. To the document signed that day, an additional paragraph was added, stating that M. Lambert would give to the king and his successors ten per cent. upon all the clear net profits which the company might receive.

I was astonished when I heard this document read, and grieved when I saw it was signed, as I felt sure it would bring trouble, for I did not think the nobles or the people would ever agree to its being carried out. A document appointing a M. Soumagne, acting French consul at Tamatave, fournissier, or provider of silk, linen, and upholstery for the king, was also signed, and when the usual toasts had been given, the French and English retired.

The king and the officers asked me to remain, and they then proceeded to read over the documents which had been signed, on some parts of which they asked my opinion. The only answer which I gave to their question respecting the treaty with the Emperor was, that it was not customary for foreigners

to import arms and military stores into the countries in which they might reside. They said there was a law to prevent any one except the sovereign doing that. But I said I thought the treaty would supersede the law, and that might occasion trouble. They said that, as the treaty would not come into operation for twelve months, they could make a change should it appear desirable. To which I replied that I thought, as the treaty was signed on their part, they could not now make any change.

When my opinion respecting the concession to M. Lambert was asked, I said I had nothing to add to what I had already said—viz., that it was very likely to cause great trouble. That I had supposed his majesty had intended to make the concession much less than had originally been proposed, as it was contrary to the king's own laws respecting precious metals, and I added that there were very few sovereigns or governments that would allow the coinage of their country, impressed with the image of the sovereign, to be in any other hands than their own. The king said he intended to establish a mint and provide the money for the country himself, and he thought the people would prefer the money he might coin to that which M. Lambert might supply.

The completion of this concession on the present occasion was the conclusion of a series of movements directed to the same end; and it revealed more clearly than I had before seen or known the ill-considered and sinister counsels by which the king had been led. All the parties to this concession knew that the traditions, usages, and laws of the country, as well as the opinions of the most powerful and influential persons, were averse to the transfer of any portion of the territory to foreigners, much more to the gift of what might prove to be the greatest treasure of the kingdom, without any equivalent whatever excepting a royalty of ten per cent. upon the clear net profits to be realised at some altogether uncertain and exceedingly remote period.

M. Lambert first visited Antananarivo in 1855, and while

there persuaded Radama, then prince royal, and heir to the throne, to give or promise to him certain portions of land for plantations, and also to give him the exclusive privilege of working any mines for the precious metals which he might discover. M. Lambert also expressed great commiseration for the suffering Christians, gave them money, and spoke to them of the great advantages they would derive from the establishment of the prince on the throne. The Frenchmen at the capital also persuaded the prince to authorise an application by M. Lambert, who proposed to proceed to Europe, to the French and English governments to assist to remove the queen by force, and to place the prince on the throne. The parties were applied to, but declined to send troops to Madagascar, and recommended M. Lambert rather to seek to develope the resources of the country by commerce, than to attempt a revolution.

I was informed of these proceedings during my visit to the capital in 1856, and told the Christians I did not think England would attempt to change the government of Madagascar by force; and I earnestly cautioned them against being tempted into complicity with any such movement if attempted on M. Lambert's return, but rather to retire from the capital altogether for a time if they heard of any such project, in order that they might be out of the way of danger.

On conversing with the prince and Rahaniraka during that visit, in reference to the gift or promises which I had heard the former had made to M. Lambert, I said it was probably well for him that he was only heir to the throne, so that any gift or promise of his could only be evidence of his intention, as he had at the time the gift was made no power to give anything away; but that if he had been king at that time he might, by such an act, have lost the throne, if not his head;* for the law, as he knew, did not allow any foreigner to be the owner of

* In one of my letters to England at the time, I stated that I had expressed this opinion to the prince.

land; and the precious metals discovered in a country were always, in the first instance, considered to belong to the sovereign or government of such country.

Whenever, since my last arrival in Madagascar, the king had referred to the subject, he had expressed his intention not to repeat the gift, and he appeared also at times to be fully sensible that the nobles and the people were exceedingly averse to it. Since M. Lambert's arrival, the king had maintained towards me entire silence on the subject; and had I not heard it reported among the officers, that, in a kind of private arrangement at his country seat, he had agreed to fulfil as king the promise which he had first made when prince, I should have concluded that he would abide by the decisions of his better judgment. Much as I regretted the act of the king, I did not at that time think the attempt to form extensive plantations on a basis so opposed to the laws, and to the feelings of the whole people, would succeed; and I recorded my opinion at the time, that to establish a company at home, and dispose of the shares, would probably be the first, if not the chief, object of the promoters of the scheme, who would be satisfied with the money they might secure. I had heard that there had been, in 1861, some renewal of the engagement between the king and M. Lambert, but did not know until this occasion that the concession had been at that time so formally completed.

CHAPTER VII.

The new order of Radama—Visit to the sites of the martyrs' sufferings—Relics of a cross—Numbers drawn to the capital—Interesting groups of strangers in the streets—The Pope's present to the King—A general amnesty proclaimed—Portrait of the King—A coronation sermon—The commandant from Tamatave—Beautiful illuminations of the country—Fire in the city—Visit of congratulation to the King and Queen—The coronation morning—Arrival at my tent—Aspect and arrangements on the plain—Representatives of the Protestants, the Catholics, and the Pagans—The pavilion and platform—Members of three generations of the royal family—The aristocracy of Madagascar—Arrival and reception of their majesties—The crowning of the King and Queen—The royal speech—Homage and offerings—Return of the procession—Scene of the multitudes leaving the plain—The banquet in the great palace—The priests crowning the King—Departure of the English embassy—Beneficial effects of their visit.

THE king, intending to signalize his accession to the throne by the institution of an Order of Merit, or favour, to be called the Order of Radama II., which was to be conferred on persons who had rendered good service to the country, had obtained, by means of M. Lambert's visit to France, a number of medals from Paris, resembling in form and appearance the decoration of the French Legion of Honour. His majesty had been distributing these among his officers and others preparatory to the ceremony of the coronation, and on the 15th of September, Rahaniraka, the foreign secretary, brought me a medal, which he said he was directed to affix to my dress. When I remarked that I did not know on what ground I could be considered as entitled to such a distinction, I was told that it was on account of the information I had given to the people of

England about Madagascar, in the book which I had published since my last visit.

Being out more than usual this day I found the afternoon sun very hot, and suffered more in my head from the fierceness of the sun's rays than I had ever done before. On the following day, after visiting the king, whom I found engaged with a number of foreigners, I accompanied General Johnstone and the missionaries on a visit to the scenes of the martyrs' death, and sites of the proposed memorial churches. My companions appeared to be deeply affected, and seemed to regard the places not only as admirable for the sites of large public buildings, but well situated for the erection of places of Christian worship for the people. The general urged my obtaining, as early as possible, a document from the king designating the object to which the ground was to be appropriated, in order to prevent disputes afterwards. I told him the king was perfectly willing to give such a document, and would perhaps confirm it in his treaty with England.

At Ambohipotsy I had found a piece of timber which I was told had been the foot of a cross on which a Christian had been crucified; and another piece of timber, five or six feet long, lying near among the grass, was said to have been part of the same cross. I sent this latter by a special bearer to my house, intending to have it built into some conspicuous part of the church which we proposed to erect on the spot. The messenger delivered the piece of wood to my servants; but great was my mortification to find on my return in the evening, that they, not conceiving that such a bleached and unsightly piece of wood could possibly be of use for anything but fuel, had chopped it up to prepare my dinner with. I had all the pieces that remained tied up in a bundle and carried into the house, and receiving afterwards two or three applications for pieces of the wood that was supposed to have formed part of a Christian's cross, I felt in danger of becoming a relic monger, when, on further inquiry, I found that the cross had not been the instru-

ment of death to a Christian, but to a Sakalava chief or warrior who had been captured by the Hovas, in one of their wars, and crucified there. After this discovery, the remaining fragments were consigned to the use to which my boys had considered them best fitted.

The recently arrived mission from the London Society included among its members a medical gentleman, and such was the estimation in which the healing art was held among the people, that the commander-in-chief brought his son to my house to ask if I thought Dr. Davidson would receive him as a medical pupil. I said it would be necessary that he should go on trial for a season, and then engage to continue for a specified period. The doctor entered at the time, and when consulted, said he could receive no pupil until he obtained a house for a dispensary. On which subject the applicant promised to speak with his brother, the prime minister, to whom most of the property in the neighbourhood belongs.

Antananarivo had for some time past been filling with visitors, and temporary encampments sprung up in the suburbs in various directions. The city was in some parts crowded, and as excited and busy as it was thronged with people. Strangers from remote provinces and distant coasts, both east and west, from Vonizongo on the west and Imamo and the Betsileo to the south, were amongst the visitors to my dwelling, and many shy and curious observers gathered round the doors and windows of our places of worship on the Sunday.

Whenever I went out in the city I met new and strange faces, and singular and often antiquated costumes and personal ornaments. Sometimes I met, borne along the road in his palanquin, surrounded by his relatives, and followed by his slaves, an aged chief who, with small sunken eyes, and time-furrowed brow, surmounted by a strange sort of cap or curiously knotted hair, was arrayed in an Arab dress, or it might be a coat of such antique shape and ornamentation as almost to have belonged to the age of Drury or Benyowsky. Sometimes,

again, I met an aged female chief, with fairer complexion, and silver hair, in ancient dress, with little or no ornament besides her own venerable countenance, and beautifully shining snow-white hair. Occasionally might be seen a young, sprightly, wondering child, sitting in the same palanquin, as it was borne along amidst surrounding female attendants and slaves. Sometimes I passed a Sakalava chief arrayed in dark-coloured lamba, walking with a brightly polished staff, surrounded by his friends, and followed by his attendants, their hair braided or loose, but ornamented by a band of land or river shells, or by a broad white shell over one or both temples, and sometimes carrying by way of ornament a long barrelled, brass-studded musket on their shoulders. The attendants of others, like the Betsimasaraks, had their hair braided and knotted so as to hang on each side of their heads, in a manner resembling short ears of Indian corn, while the hair of some other tribes was arranged in long oval bunches so as to spread out like rays from a centre, or like the spokes of a wheel, or perhaps in imitation of the fruit of the banana surrounding its central stalk. The dress of the slaves from all parts of the country was very much the same; but it appeared to me that the chiefs and their attendants who came from the eastern parts of the island, were more frequently clothed in European manufactures; while those who came from the west, and affected foreign dress, wore such as were of Arabic or Indian fabric.

The king had repeatedly asked me to take his portrait in profile, from which a die could be prepared for the mint which he proposed to establish, and when I saw him on the 19th, he said he would come to me on the following morning for this purpose. I told him I should be glad to comply with his wishes, and that the light would be suitable about seven or eight o'clock. While I was with him, one of the Catholic priests presented to the king a small packet, and the secretary, to whom he handed it, said it was a medal or decoration from the pope. On looking at it afterwards, I saw it was a beautiful

mosaic medallion, representing the pope's hand in the position in which it is used when bestowing his blessing. Beneath the hand was the form of a Greek Cross, also in beautiful mosaic.

That no one might be without cause to welcome his approaching coronation, the king had ordered twenty-one guns to be fired, and a general amnesty to be proclaimed to the people, for all offenders against the state. A succession of visitors continued to arrive while I was with him, not a few to express their thanks for the amnesty. There were some from whose limbs the fetters had been struck off, to whom he had given liberty, as well as restored them to their homes, their families, and their inheritance. Among these were the widow and family of the late Prince Ramboasalama, who fell down weeping before the king, clasping and kissing his feet, and thanking and praising him for his clemency and bounty to the family, for he had restored their property and their forfeited inheritance to the uttermost farthing. Their tears were as much tears of grateful joy for his generous treatment of the survivors, as of grief for the absence of the prince who was dead. The king himself was so exhausted by the excitement of the numbers who came, and so affected by the visit of the family of the late competitor for the throne, that the general who was present invited him to go and dine with him. He went, but though he ate and drank very little he continued in a state of great excitement during the evening.

A little before eight the next morning the king according to appointment came, accompanied by his chief officers, to my house. He appeared quite exhausted when he entered, threw himself almost breathless into an easy chair, and apologizing for being so late, asked for a glass of water. After sitting quietly for some time, he said he was quite ready, and I obtained a good profile likeness of him. As soon as I had finished developing the picture we sat down to breakfast, the king's private secretary, and the treasurer of the government, as well as Lieutenant Oliver and Mr. Parrett, who had kindly

assisted me in my photographic operations, joining us. I had sent to the general to beg a little biscuit, and Lieutenant Oliver sent for a couple of bottles of claret to add to our repast.

The king's cheerfulness revived with the breakfast, and when it was finished, after conversing for some time, he proposed that he should read in the Bible, which he did with much self-possession and seeming attention. As he was in no haste to leave, and appeared to prefer the quietude with me to the throng he expected at his own house, we conversed on a number of important subjects connected with the great transaction which was about to take place. I spoke very plainly and affectionately to him, addressing him as *my son*, a liberty which he sanctioned by always designating me as his *father* when sending for me. He spoke on this occasion with much explicitness and earnestness of his desire to do right, to put his trust in God, and to make Madagascar the happiest of countries.* It was noon before he left me, and returned to his own residence accompanied by his officers. I met the leaders of the Christians in the afternoon to arrange about our proceedings at the coronation.

The next day was Sunday. The native congregations were large, as there were a number of strangers, and all appeared attentive. Captain Anson and the missionaries called and accompanied me to the service in the large school-room at the king's place in the afternoon. The congregation had assembled when we arrived. My text on this occasion was Numbers vi. 24, 25, and 26, which, after directing attention to Him by whom kings reign and princes decree judgment, I recommended the young sovereign to adopt it as the foundation of his own desire and trust, and the burden of his own prayers; assuring him that it was the desire, the hope, and the prayer of his true

* He frequently expressed to me a similar desire, and had remarked that he wished the people to say, when they remembered his reign, that it was the period of greatest happiness that they had ever known. I have no reason to think this patriotic wish was not sincere, little as he ever understood what was indispensable on his part to its fulfilment.

friends for him, and for his people. My sermon was in English, with a summary at the close in Malagasy. It was remarked afterwards by the English who were present that the king was remarkably attentive, and once or twice when I felt doubtful as to whether he understood correctly the English words I used, and paused to repeat the sentence in Malagasy, he prevented me by repeating before I had time to utter them, the native words, showing, as was afterwards observed, that he had understood what I said.

I also used the words of the text as a parting salutation to my English friends who expected to leave, on their return home, before the next Sunday. We walked home together, the missionary brethren intending to remain with me for the rest of the evening, but a message came soon afterwards from the prime minister who wished to see me. On reaching his house, I was delighted to see my old patient, the commandant, who had been burned by the explosion of gunpowder at Tamatave. He appeared much pleased to see me, and showed me his hands, over which the new skin was becoming firm and healthy, while he could bend all his fingers without difficulty. My friend Rainitavy, with a Creole acquainted with both French and English, had been appointed postmaster at Tamatave, and had brought up a well-filled letter-bag from Mauritius.

I proceeded to the residence of the missionaries, who were delighted by the arrival of the letters, and prepared to return in the dark to my own residence, when, to my agreeable surprise, I found my servants waiting with my palanquin, which kind forethought had provided on finding I had been so long detained.

Soon after reaching home I sat down to dinner, tea, and supper in one, but was soon afterwards called to look out upon the surrounding landscape, which was illuminated by a thousand brightly blazing fires, caused by simultaneously kindling small bundles of dried grass which had been collected for that purpose. The night was dark, but cloudless, the wind slight, and the

spectacle produced by this novel, and to me unexpected lighting up of the country for several miles around, extending as it did up the sides of the hills, was at once a striking, simple, and appropriate expression of the universal gladness.

But, while gazing at these joyfully enkindled fires, a cloud of smoke, and a sudden blaze arose a little to the south of my house, and the cry—"*Tranomai*"—"house on fire," startled every one. Mothers flew to remove their children; others began packing up their property. The drums beat, and the alarm-bell rang. The men were summoned to assist in carrying water, or tearing down surrounding buildings. My friends advised me to keep in the house, to kindle lights, and fasten gates and doors, as the general commotion attending a fire was sometimes made an occasion for plunder. Our alarm was soon quieted by the return of one of my servants with the news that the fire was extinguished.

Before I retired to rest an officer came to inform me that it was customary for the heads of the nation to wait on the king early on the morning before a coronation took place, and that it would be gratifying if foreigners paid this mark of respect, adding that the French had arranged to do so, and he did not think we should like to neglect it. I therefore wrote notes to the general and the missionaries, inviting them to meet me for this object at seven o'clock, in order that we might go together to the palace. Soon after that hour we set out from my house, and were graciously welcomed by the king, who expressed his pleasure on receiving our congratulations among the earliest which had been presented. He then went for the queen, who appeared equally pleased with the attention. After a short time her majesty retired, accepting the general's arm to her apartments, and we returned home.

I next arranged with the Christians for the proceedings of the following day, and afterwards prepared my chemicals for taking a photographic view of the ceremony. About five in the afternoon I went to the ground, nearly two miles distant,

but, to my great mortification, found that the officer in charge of the entrance, a perfect stranger, would not admit me without an order. A friend who was with me, himself an aide-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, expostulated, but in vain. He then sent a messenger to his superior, but I had to wait an hour in the dark before we were admitted. We then kindled a light, put up a tent, and left the camera and chemicals in charge of one of my own servants and three other men, who were to remain all night within the rush fence which had been erected round the place to keep off the crowd. It was late when I reached home, and arranged finally with the missionaries for the following day. Twenty-one cannons had then been fired, and the whole country illuminated in the same manner as on the previous evening.

The tread of feet and the sound of voices ceased but for a short time, if at all, during the whole night. On the morning of the 23rd I rose and dressed before day-break, when the firing of cannon along the sides of the hill announced the dawn of the long-desired day. It was but little after six o'clock when, much to my surprise, a captain and twenty men in uniform entered my front yard, and drew up before the door. The officer informed me that they had been sent to conduct me to Imahamasina ("the making sacred"), the plain on which the coronation was to take place, to attend me through the day, and to see that I was not incommoded. Shortly afterwards I took my seat in my palanquin, and with four soldiers before me, the same number behind, and six on each side, I proceeded through the city.

In the latter portion of the way I was immediately behind the idols and their keepers, or guardians; and at one time, for some distance, I was quite surrounded by them, when I made the best use I could of the opportunity to see what they were like. As we approached the plain, the broad road, even at that early hour, was crowded, for hundreds of people in palanquins or on foot, were thronging towards the entrance to the ground.

No triumphal arches had been erected at any part along which the procession was to pass. No flags were hung out from any of the houses, but the broad banner of the sovereign waved from the summit of the palace, and the flags of England and France floated over the consulates of the respective nations. Banners inscribed with R. R. II. were suspended from tall poles on each side of the road, at intervals of about a hundred yards, and at still longer intervals along the road, clusters of five or six fresh, tall, green plantain trees had been planted during the preceding day. On the ground, the positions of the respective divisions of the people in front, or on the west of the royal pavilion, were also indicated by banners bearing their heraldic names. Banners were also raised over the pavilions, and along the whole line of the platform, which was more than three hundred feet in length from north to south. In the centre of this platform was the sacred stone—a granite boulder—on which the king was to stand when assuming the crown. Over this stone, which is now surrounded by a wall, an elegant pavilion had been erected, beneath which seats were placed for the king and queen.

The white mists of morning still rested on the plains when I arrived at the enclosure, and found all my photographic materials safe. The men in charge said the night had been cold, but that no one had disturbed them. I then set up my tent, fixed my camera, and prepared my chemicals, and as soon as the light was sufficiently clear, took a small picture of the pavilion to test my chemicals, which proved to be in good order. I then took some refreshment, and was about to proceed to the place where the Christians were assembling, when, to my astonishment, the captain of my guard said he had no orders to let me leave the place, and could not allow me to do so without word from his superior. I laughed, and told him I had no expectation that, on receiving his protection, I should become his captive, and that my tent would be turned into a prison. He laughed, too, and said, "Wait a little," and darting off into the

crowd, an order soon came that I was to go out and in as I pleased.

I then joined the native pastors at the head of the Christians, on the south side of the steps leading up to the pavilion, the Christians occupying the space along the front of the platform on the same side, though I was afterwards informed that more than half their number could not gain admittance to the ground. On the opposite, or north side of the steps to the pavilion, were the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity and their pupils, about forty in number, and five Catholic priests, with the adherents to their faith. To the west of these Christians were the idol keepers with the idols, and their votaries. These idols, or objects of worship, thirteen in number, were carried on tall slender rods or poles, from eight to ten feet high. There was not much in any of them to inspire respect, much less veneration or worship. Dirty pieces of silver chain, silver balls varying in size from a pistol bullet to a hen's egg, pieces of coral, and what seemed like bone and silver ornaments intended to represent crocodiles' teeth, and with these narrow strips of scarlet cloth, from a foot to a yard or more in length, some of them underneath what looked like a red woollen cap, resembling a cap of liberty; others invisible, consisting of something tied up in a small bag of native cloth or rush basket; whether some of them were only charms or emblems of the idols I had no means of knowing; but such were the objects of worship, or the representatives of such, on which the safety and welfare of the nation was supposed to depend, and for refusing to worship which, many of the most intelligent and worthy among the people had been subjected to banishment, slavery, torture, and death.

To the north of the pavilion, the floor of which covered the sacred stone, and was raised six or seven feet above the ground, a platform, fifty yards long, was appropriated to the French and English missions, with other foreign visitors, and native officers. On the opposite side of the pavilion another platform, of equal

length and elevation, was appropriated to the members of the royal family, who were all arrayed in scarlet, a colour which extended in some instances to parasols and shoes.

Nearest to the throne sat Rasalimo, the Sakalava princess, whose marriage with the first Radama, in 1821, was the seal of the peace then concluded between her father, Ramitraha, chief of the Sakalavas, and the Hova sovereign. Next to her sat one who, in her day, must have been one of the brightest belles of Madagascar, for traces of beauty still lingered in the regular features, beautifully formed eyebrows, and oval contour of her face. She had been one of the wives of the first Radama's father, Ampoinimerina, who died in 1808.

Representatives of three generations of the highest families in Madagascar were there assembled, and it was interesting to observe their varied figures, forms, and countenances, the resemblance to, and the deviations from the Hova type, the Hovas being in all instances fairer than the others. Some of the men were extremely handsome, among whom was the young Prince Ramonja, and Ramboasalama's princely son. All were gorgeously attired. Scarlet, the regal colour, predominated, though some wore green and purple coloured velvet. Gold lace, though not wanting, was less lavishly spread over the new than the old uniforms, which were occasionally mingled with them in striking contrast.

Next to the contemplation of the members of the royal and noble families of the country, my eye wandered over the figures, countenances, ornaments, and dresses of the representatives of the various divisions of the people, and the strangers from the remote provinces gathered before me in one vast and still-increasing multitude; and many were the noble forms and the intelligent countenances which met my gaze, all animated, cheerful, and excited by eager expectation.

In the city, troops under arms had, since the morning, lined the sides of the road from the palace to the plain, a distance of nearly two miles, and between nine and ten o'clock the firing

of cannon, and the shouting of the multitude, announced to the expectant thousands that the king and queen had left the palace. Preceded by the band, and attended by the embassies from England and from France, with the French and English consuls, and surrounded by their guard, they had proceeded to the place of public assembly in the city, where the king, after alighting for a few minutes on the smaller sacred stone of Andohalo, remounted, and pursued his way. Towards eleven o'clock the clouds of dust, and the denser throng along the winding and descending road by Amparibe, together with the firing of the nearer cannon on the mountain side, announced their majesties' approach. I noticed at this time that as soon as the royal cortége appeared, the dowager queens and princesses occupying the front seats on the platform within a few yards of which I was standing, turned their faces in the direction from which the king was approaching, clapped and lifted up their hands as in the act of homage or of blessing, and commenced singing their ancient song, as had been the custom in former times on welcoming the public approach of the sovereign.

The queen, splendidly attired in a white satin dress, and wearing a tasteful ornament of gold on her head, rode first, in a richly gilt and scarlet-and-gold embroidered palanquin, accompanied by her little adopted favourite, the infant child of prince Ramonja's oldest daughter. The king followed, riding a beautiful little Egyptian horse, and was greeted by the plaudits of the joyous multitude, who crowded every available spot along which the pageant had to pass. As they approached the pavilion the native Christians sang most heartily their national anthem, or "God save the King." A guard of honour—Tsimandoa—clothed in green, with scarlet cuffs and collars, and bearing halberts or spears of polished silver, shaft and head, attended the royal pair. The officers of the embassies from England and France, as well as other foreigners, and high officers of government followed. The queen left her palanquin

at the foot of the steps, and ascended to the pavilion erected above the sacred stone, Imahamasina; the king followed, wearing the British field-marshal's uniform, presented by Queen Victoria, and over this a splendid light-coloured robe or mantle. The dresses of the officers of state who accompanied their majesties were most of them new, and some of them gorgeous. The long robe of the minister of justice was of green velvet, trimmed with broad bands of gold lace, the train being borne by two youthful pages wearing a livery of the same.

When their majesties had been seated a few minutes, the king rose, and taking from an elegant stand on his right the new handsome crown, a present from the emperor of the French, he placed it on his head. The firing of cannon announced the fact. The band began to play the Malagasy national anthem, while the vast multitude saluted the newly-crowned and youthful monarch with the Malagasy salutation, Tra-ran-ti-tra, "May you live to attain a good old age!"

The king, still wearing the crown, then turned to the queen, who stood by his side, and taking the small open crown of gold from the page who bore it, placed it on her majesty's head, who, as she stood by the side of Radama, and before the silent but almost enraptured multitude, looked a truly royal and noble queen.

After standing for a minute or two to receive the greetings of the high officers and their friends, the queen sat down. The king then carefully removed the crown from his head, advanced to the front of the pavilion, and, drawing his sword, stood for a moment or two, pale but perfectly self-possessed, before the intensely silent multitude, and then said:—

"Nobles, and noble ladies, by the blessing of God to me and to you, we meet, exempt from calamity, living and seeing each other. The day of separation is past, the appointed time for our seeing each other has come, and I salute you all, nobles, and noble ladies. I salute you, all the people. God has given to

us his goodness, not to have died, but to have life, and to see each other living. Árahaba! (salutations to you all.)

"This is what I say unto you all under heaven (the whole people). I did not choose you (for subjects), but you chose me (to be king), not that I hoped to reign, but God appointed the kingdom to me; and you know my past life, and my thoughts (or purposes), for by me nothing has been concealed. My thought and purpose is not changed; and there is nothing above me but only God, and justice or truth. Not of myself have I come down to Imahamasina (the sacred stone on which he stood), but you besought me, therefore have I come hither. And this is my counsel to you, all beneath the sky. Do that which is right and true. Do not deceive, that you, your wives, and your children may be happy. For when it is so, my reign will repose in quiet, that I may truly put far away from me falsehood. Is not that right?—all beneath the sky?" "That (is)"* exclaimed the multitude, and cried, "Hi-ō-be!—Hi-ō-be!" "Let the workman pursue his labour, the trader his barter, without fear; for the long-expected time is come. I will protect all the people, whether the poor or the rich, that all may prosper, for your desire is accomplished. "Trust in me, all under the sky, for my word unto all is, Salutation of Prosperity! Salutation of Happiness!"

This speech was delivered with great ease and distinctness, and with considerable animation. It was followed by the deep-toned, far-extending Hi-ō-be of the multitudes gathered before the youthful monarch—a man who was endowed with many elements of character often associated with true greatness, as well as with sentiments of humanity and benevolence—a man who would, had he been favoured with early sound education and better moral training, examples, and advisers, have risen

* It is customary for a public speaker to interrogate his audience—"Is it not so?" &c.; and the quick, sharp, loud, simultaneous response, "izàny," or "izày," the accent being on the last syllable, is, to a stranger, somewhat startling, and, I have often thought, peculiarly inspiriting to the speaker.

to a more distinguished place than he ever attained, and might have been classed among the benevolent and patriotic rulers of the present age.

On the conclusion of his speech, the king resumed his seat, the high officers with some of the foreign visitors standing round behind. M. Lambert now approached, and tendered his hasina, or acknowledgment of sovereignty, consisting of a gold coin. I ascended the steps, and presented a sovereign on behalf of the missionaries and myself; and seeing an officer in uniform of blue velvet and gold, and thinking that would help to make way for me through the crowd, I asked him to show me the way to my tent. He took me by the hand and led me through the multitude without difficulty, and returned to the platform. I hastily slipped on my blouse, prepared and placed the plate in the camera, and, as I waved my handkerchief the king and queen stood still for a minute in front of the pavilion, when I uncovered the lens a minute, and then waved my cap to signify that it was finished. The king waved his plumed hat in reply, and their majesties resumed their seats.

The nobles, and representatives from the different provinces and remote parts of the island, continued to ascend to the front of the pavilion, there to offer their affectionate salutations, and to tender their hasina or acknowledgment; while I proceeded to develop my picture, which so far as the chief objects, the king and queen, the occupants of the pavilion and platform, and the sides of the city in the background were concerned, was clear and distinct; but the incessant moving of heads and umbrellas immediately in front of me, and forming the foreground, made nearly one undistinguishable mass.

About one o'clock the royal party left the pavilion, and slowly made their way through the crowd towards the road. The king returned my salute as he passed near my tent on his way from the ground; and I was surprised at the gentleness of his horse*

* I afterwards heard that, on reaching Andohalo, an oval plain, encircled

among the floating of banners, the rattle of the drums, the shouting of the multitude, and the roar of the artillery, to say nothing of the screaming, shouting, and running hither and thither in search of palanquins, or bearers, as the noisy throng moved on like a surging torrent towards the exit from the plain into the road leading back to the palace.

And now the scene which, favoured by the aspect of the surrounding scenery, by a cloudless sky, and a brilliant tropical sun, together with the varied and gorgeous accompaniments of the occasion, had been one of the most imposing I had ever witnessed, began to change simultaneously on every side. The lower portion of the mountain on which the city stands, consisting of irregular ledges of granite, and which, rising two hundred feet above the plain, stretched from north to south behind the platform at a distance of two or three hundred yards, had been thronged with spectators, visible in some parts on ledge above ledge even to the summit. Greater numbers still had spread themselves over the sides and the summits of the hills to the north and the west; while lines of people were seen extending in beautiful perspective from the base to the very summit of Ambohizanahary (village of God) a massive circular hill nearly as high as the capital, and forming the south-west boundary of the plain. These several throngs of spectators, the majority of them females arrayed in the long flowing white or coloured lamba of the Hovas, and who had, except when clapping their hands or singing in chorus, been quiet gazers on the scene, were now seen moving in every direction, until they mingled with the crowd passing along one or other of the

by steep banks, surmounted by houses, and about a mile on the way to the palace, the king's horse becoming alarmed, reared, and dislodged his majesty from his seat. He was caught by Lieut. Eardley Wilmott, who was walking immediately behind, and thus escaped all injury. Mentioning the incident some time afterwards, the king asked if a medal could be struck representing a rider who was falling from a rearing horse being caught by a person walking by his side, and when I said it could be done, he said he should like to have such a medal struck.

roads from the plain on which had been transacted one of the great events of a nation's history.

I now secured my camera, took down my tent, and made the best of my way home. The heat had been so great, especially within the tent, and I had been so many hours on the ground, that as soon as I reached my house I was glad to exchange my dress for lighter material, and was enjoying my usual refreshment—a cup of tea, when an officer from the palace came to say that the company was assembled, and the dinner waiting.

On reaching the front court-yard I found the large palace—*Manjakamiadana*, which had been closed since the death of the late queen, now open, and I was ushered into the lower room of this remarkable and magnificent building. In this spacious room or hall of the palace, which is upwards of eighty feet long, forty-six feet wide, and twenty-four feet high, the walls painted by native artists, I found a long table set, with cross tables at each end, on which was spread the coronation banquet.

So far as choice, variety, and abundance were concerned, it was indeed a royal banquet. The silver gilt tankard and goblets presented by Queen Victoria, with golden vases of native manufacture after European models, very appropriately graced the cross table at the north, which is generally considered the sacred end. Two lofty vases of native workmanship stood upon one of the sideboards; while various vessels of silver, also of native manufacture, were placed along the centre of the long table alternately with porcelain or other vases containing bright and gaily-coloured artificial flowers, interspersed with dishes of preserved European fruits, biscuits, and freshly gathered ripe oranges, pine apples, and other fruits of native growth. The table, however, was furnished with more substantial viands. A calf roasted whole, and garnished, graced the upper end; and dishes of a large size, corresponding with the greatness of the occasion, which were taken off to be

carved and served, appeared along the entire length of the table. A fish nearly three feet long was near my appointed place when I first sat down; while different joints, poultry, game, and pastry, were collected in abundance on the side-boards.

Covers were laid for upwards of a hundred, and fully that number sat down to the royal feast. The king occupied the centre of the northern cross table. The queen sat on his right, and next to her majesty General Johnstone, the chief of the English mission, next to whom sat the mother of the queen, and aunt of the late Prince Rambosalama. The French consul sat next, and on his left the Sakalava princess, dowager-queen of Radama the First, after whom Captain Anson filled up the left side of the cross table..

On the king's right Mrs. Davidson sat between his majesty and Commodore Dupré, the plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty the Emperor of the French, Mrs. Pakenham sat next, on whose right was the commander-in-chief, and one of the royal princesses, next to whom was the British consul, then Rasoaray, and opposite to Captain Anson, M. Lambert filled up the right of the cross table. I found my place three seats below Captain Anson, and directly opposite to me sat the Abbé Jouen, the Catholic vicar-apostolic of Madagascar.

The viands were good, and the attendants careful and obliging, the drinking very moderate; and all parties appeared gratified, when, after toasts to the sovereigns of England, France, and Madagascar had been given, the king rose, drew his sword, and delivered a somewhat energetic speech indicating the principles on which his government would be conducted, and the things which he considered beneficial or injurious to the country. The queen soon after sunset rose from the table and proceeded to her apartments, when, in company with the missionaries, I retired. Shortly afterwards the hall was cleared for dancing, which continued for some hours, but the king retired to his apartments about half-past ten, and, as I was

afterwards informed, read a lesson in English with comparative ease and correctness before retiring to rest.

There is a slight but extremely characteristic episode connected with the coronation which, as it has been to some extent made public, it is perhaps right to mention here. Immediately after the coronation it was reported in the capital that the king had been crowned by the Catholic priests in the palace before they went to the public coronation. I took an early opportunity of asking the king if it was so. He said that in the evening before the coronation two priests came to ask if they might come in the morning to see the crown which had been presented by the emperor, and to sprinkle it with holy water, to which he had consented; and that early in the morning Father Jouen and Père Finaz came to the palace, looked at the crowns, sprinkled water upon them, and then took his crown and came, unexpectedly to him, and put it on his head, as he supposed, to see how it would fit; that both himself and the queen were in their ordinary morning dress, unprepared for any proceeding of the kind, and were surprised at what the priest did; but that he attached no importance whatever to the act. The crowning was, in his estimation, the public act before the people.

The following is the account given by the chief actor in this transaction, as published in some of the French and Mauritian papers:—

"Et en effet, les premiers rayons du soleil éclairaient à peine le faîte du Palais, que nous nous sommes présentés, le R. P. Finaz et moi: à l'instant toutes les portes se sont ouvertes et nous nous sommes mis en mesure d'installer l'autel du sacrifice. Assurément, le Rév. chapelain de sa majesté, ne se doutait guère, en ce moment, de ce qui allait se passer. Qu'eût-il pensé, surtout s'il eût pu apercevoir une couronne royale déposée sur l'autel, et attendant la bénédiction que devait appeler sur elle le prêtre Catholique Romain. Donc, toutes choses étant

préparées, j'ai commencé la messe, en présence du roi, de la reine et de quelques personnes de confiance. Un père de la mission me la servait. La messe terminée, j'ai récité sur la couronne royale toutes les prières indiquées par l'Église; puis, après l'avoir aspergée de l'eau sainte, et invoqué sur elle toutes les bénédictions d'en haut, je l'ai prise entre mes mains, et, m'approchant de Radama, je la lui ai posée solennellement sur la tête, en prononçant ces paroles: 'Sire, c'est au nom de Dieu que je vous couronne. Régnez long temps pour la gloire de votre nom et pour le bonheur de votre peuple.'

"Il était près de 8 heures quand cette cérémonie s'est terminée, n'ayant eu guère pour témoin que Dieu et ses anges," &c., &c.—*Relation d'un Voyage à Tananarivo, à l'époque du couronnement de Radama II.*, *par* Le T. R. P. JOUEN, *Préfet apostolique de Madagascar.*

The long-wished-for day which had drawn from near and distant parts representatives of the varied tribes of Madagascar had now passed. All had been propitious. No single casualty or calamitous event had sent regret or sorrow into any family or any heart; and early on the morrow, some who had been long away from their homes began to prepare for their return.

On the following day several Christians came to take leave of me, among them parties from Vonizongo, to the west, including in their number the children and relatives of some who had nobly confessed the name of Christ, and had suffered and died rather than renounce their faith. These earnestly inquired for copies of the Scriptures, and hymn-books, with which I supplied them before their departure.

Some of my scholars also came unexpectedly to me to resume their lessons, and, unwilling even under such circumstances to treat as a light thing their desire to learn, I was glad to transfer them to the kind attentions of Mr. Toy, at least for the remainder of the week.

On the same day I also received a letter brought by parties

who had come to the coronation from the small band of Christians at Fia-na-ran-tsoa, a large and very populous village in Betsileo, eight days' journey from Antananarivo. The writers of the letter expressed their pleasure on hearing I was at the capital, with their hope that I should visit them, and asked for copies of the Scriptures, hymns, and spelling-books. They informed me that fifteen of their number were united in Christian fellowship; and also that, thinly scattered over the Betsileo country, there were other Christians besides those in Fia-na-ran-tsoa. To hear of this little church among the Gentiles was indeed to receive glad tidings, not lessened by learning that the military post of the Hovas at Fia-na-ran-tsoa had been the Pharos of Betsileo, and military officers and soldiers from Antananarivo, the Corneliuses and devout soldiers who had established and maintained the worship of the true God in this land of heathenism, and had diffused the knowledge of salvation amongst the people.

In compliance with an invitation from the king, I went to the large palace, the banqueting-hall of the previous day, where various articles, chiefly specimens of native industry and skill, were presented to the distinguished visitors who were about to depart. Refreshments were then served, and the company afterwards ascended to the upper verandah of the palace, and from this elevated position we witnessed a brilliant exhibition of fireworks, discharged from the causeway and borders of a piece of water to the north-east of the capital, originally a reservoir of water for the adjacent mills erected under the direction of Mr. Cameron, an ingenious and intelligent machinist and builder connected with the early English mission, who also superintended the construction of a causeway to an island in this water on which a kind of tasteful summer cottage was erected for the late queen.

It was nearly eight o'clock when I left, and as the general and his party were to depart on the following day, and I had been unable previously to partake of their hospitality, I went

home with Captain Anson to dine with them. We were afterwards joined by Lieutenant Oliver and Rainilaiarivony, the commander-in-chief. I was glad of the opportunity thus afforded to spend with my countrymen the last evening they would pass in the capital. I took leave of the general at seven the next morning, when he set out on his way to Tamatave; and at noon Captain Anson called to bid me farewell as he passed towards the eastern gate.

On the following day Mr. Caldwell and his companions also left, expecting to reach Tamatave in time to sail with the embassy in H.M.S. *Gorgon* to Mauritius. The presents from England to the king and queen had been sent to the capital in charge of Mr. Caldwell, who had accompanied Colonel Middleton, in 1861. My intercourse with him and his companions had not been frequent, but I had always received from them kindness and respect, as well as assistance in my work.

To the members of the British embassy, their detention in Antananarivo occasioned by the postponement of the coronation had not unnaturally appeared long. To me it appeared extremely short; and by all classes of the community, from the sovereign downwards, their departure was, I believe, sincerely regretted. Though inconvenient to themselves, their detention was not without its advantages. The previously short visit of Colonel Middleton and his companions had left, so far as moral influence was concerned, all that could be desired, and the protracted stay of General Johnstone and Captain (now Lieut.-Col.) Anson, and their companions, had deepened the impression already made, and added to its value. It had enlarged the acquaintance of the Malagasy with the principles and the conduct which constitute so large a portion of the character of a British officer, and a Christian gentleman. I have often thought that the prestige of the English in Madagascar is in a large measure due to the disinterested, upright, and honourable deportment of many of the Englishmen who have been

amongst the people, and when it has been otherwise the natives are not unobservant of the difference.

After the departure of the bishop of Mauritius, I was more frequently associated with the general and Captain Anson than with any other members of the embassy; and I have consequently less hesitation in speaking of their influence while in Madagascar, and the impression which it left. Their opinion, whenever asked, was given readily, judiciously, and kindly, and it produced on the minds of all classes the impression that the English were sincere, disinterested friends, anxious to promote the improvement and happiness of the people.

To myself, the visit of the embassy was a source of unspeakable satisfaction. With Captain Anson I had been previously acquainted in Mauritius. General Johnstone I saw for the first time when he alighted from his palanquin in Antananarivo. On neither of these gentlemen had I the slightest claim for anything beyond the ordinary courtesy which one Englishman shows towards another, when meeting under such circumstances, but more ready and generous kindness could scarcely have been shown had their friendship towards me been of life-long growth. Their interest also manifested in my work was as great, and the encouragement afforded by that interest was as valuable, as their friendship was constant and true. Whether I was connected with the sections of Christian society in England to which these gentlemen belonged or not, did not seem to make any difference. They saw the difference which Christianity had made between the Christian and heathen portions of society. They heard the reports even from natives who were not Christians themselves, of the improved character and altered lives of the Christians of Madagascar. They visited the sites on which had been manifested the heroic constancy and fortitude of the Christians. They saw their order, and becoming observance of the Lord's day. They encouraged them by their example, and by attending their rude and simple places of worship, even though they understood not the language in

which their prayers were offered. They showed solicitude respecting their education, and in return were regarded with affection and esteem as the friends of the Christians.

While I myself regretted the departure of the embassy, I could not but feel grateful for the frequent pleasure I had found in their society. They saw the kind of work in which I was engaged, and were not ignorant of the difficulties of my position, of the many interests combined against me, and how likely I was to be misunderstood and misrepresented, and they not only gave me their sympathy, but they nobly helped forward my work. The general promised and gave me £100 towards the memorial churches—the first direct encouragement which I received. He also generously gave me £5 for the poor and necessitous Christians, of whom there are many. Captain Anson with readiness helped in the same work. He applied and wrote to his friends in Mauritius and England, and sent me nearly £60 towards the erection of the churches. These, however, were not the only advantages derived from their visit. They have ever since taken a deep interest in the prosperity of the Malagasy, and it is still my privilege to number them amongst my sincere and valued friends.

CHAPTER VIII.

Visitors from the west coast—Breakfast with the King and Queen—Sunday religious services—Departure of M. Lambert—Character of my intercourse with the King—State of morals connected with polygamy—The King's relation with Mary—Her influence over the King—Invitation to his Majesty to visit Tamatave—Specimens of minerals—Mr. Parrett's journey to Tamatave for goods and books—Death of the Chief Judge—Visit to the house of mourning—Malagasy customs on occurrence of death—The funeral procession—The ancient city of Ambohimanga—Application of the Christians to the King for a house for worship—Invitation to visit them—Welcome and friendly reception by the officers at Ambohimanga—Interesting Sunday services with the Christians—Presents from the officers, and friendly parting—Subsequent mistake of the officers in interrupting the worship—Death and funeral of Rahaniraka—Robbery of graves.

AMONGST other visitors attracted to the capital by the great event of the coronation, I heard that a woman who spoke English, and was reported to be a Vazaha, or foreigner, had, in company with several men, come from Mojanga, the chief port on the west of the island, their object having reference also to a disputed claim for land. On going to see the woman, who was in a house near Andohalo, I found her sitting in a room in company with three or four of her companions, who, from their dress and features, I supposed to be Arabs. She was apparently between forty and fifty years of age, and wore large silver rings on her wrists and ancles. Her dress was Arabic, and profusely ornamented. She wore a long necklace thickly strung with Indian or Arabic gold coins about the size of a sovereign. She spoke English well, and said her parents were Dutch, that she was born and educated at the Cape of Good Hope, could read and write, had left the Cape eight years ago, was a

Christian, had been shipwrecked on one of the Comoro Islands, had married a Mohamedan who had died, that a foreigner had seized her house, and that she had come to complain to the king. I asked about the people at Mojanga, and her journey to the capital. She said the road was mountainous and difficult, that she had been a month on the way, that her bearers becoming weak and tired, had prevented her arriving in time for the coronation. She said there were many Arabs and other Mohamedans living at the port, and numbers of Sakalaves near. Such was the woman's tale. She said she would call on me the next day, but I told her I should be engaged. I saw her afterwards one day at the king's with a dancing party, and heard that her character was not the most reputable, but the king sent to the governor of the port to inquire respecting her complaint.

On the last day of September, the queen sent a message to say that she would pay me a visit on the following Thursday, at two o'clock. I sent to say that I should feel honoured by her majesty's visit, and would provide some refreshment. I was the more pleased with the proposal, because it was the day on which the king had promised to come, in order that I might take his likeness. My rooms were arranged accordingly on the Wednesday, and on Thursday morning at eight o'clock I expected the king, but some time before that hour a young officer came running to say that his majesty was coming. The servants, who were arranging the table, instantly fled in all directions. Immediately after, the king and two or three officers entered, laughing heartily at the consternation which his unexpected arrival had occasioned. I welcomed him heartily, while he apologised for coming before the time fixed, saying he had preferred to come by a less public way, quietly in his ordinary clothes, and would dress for his portrait in my room. His attendants then laid out the different portions of regal attire, while my servants provided a cup of tea and some biscuits, which I offered him, and then went to arrange my

camera, &c. His attendants had also brought the casket containing the new crown which he had worn at the coronation, as he wished the picture to resemble his appearance on that occasion. When he came to take his position, he directed one of his officers to place his plumed hat on the ground near his feet, and to tell him when his position was correct. I then adjusted the focus, and found on developing the picture that I had obtained a tolerably good likeness. As the king was anxious to see the picture I exhibited it to him, and to two of his favourite officers, who appeared gratified with its appearance. Mr. and Mrs. Toy, who had promised me their company, now arrived.

It was past ten o'clock, and the king proposed to send for the queen, that we might breakfast together. I said if it would not inconvenience her majesty, it would be very agreeable to me. The king and his officers amused themselves with some volumes of the pictorial Bible, while I finished my photograph and arranged my own dress. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, a messenger came to say that the queen had left the palace, and music soon afterwards announced her approach. The soldiers and the band then entered the court-yard in front of my house, and the royal palanquin was set down at my door.

The king, as usual, received her majesty with the most graceful cordiality, and on reaching the inner room, I introduced two of the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Toy. The queen, on this occasion, wore a white satin dress, ornamented with crimson velvet border in a pattern of leaves. Their majesties were each accompanied by three companions—the king by three gentlemen, the queen by two ladies and a gentleman, but as one of the gentlemen stood behind the queen's chair we all found seats, and her majesty assured me there was no need for apology on account of the limited size of the room.

The viands on this occasion were much the same as when I had previously entertained the king, except that we had some excellent curry and rice, and two or three made dishes of

native cookery, all very good, with one of which the queen appeared much pleased. My friend, the commandant, who had been so sadly burned at Tamatave, had sent me the night before a couple of bottles of wine, and a nice canister of preserved veal from Europe, with a note stating that as he had heard that the king was coming to breakfast with me, he thought a little wine and preserved meat might be acceptable, as it really was. I had given the canister to my servants in the morning to open, and to heat the contents for breakfast. To my great dismay, when the company had been nearly all served, my chief servant, a good-natured and rather corpulent man entered, with the tin case wrapped round with a dinner napkin in his hand, and placed it on the table before me. I had quite forgotten it, and as soon as I saw what it was, I directed him to take it off and place the meat in a dish. As I looked across the table I saw the queen quietly smiling, and apologising to my guests, I said I was ashamed of the mismanagement of my servants. But the queen said kindly, "Oh no. They do very well."

In a few minutes the dish came back in proper form. I helped her majesty and the king. The queen asked what it was, and though I answered "zanak omby"—"child of a cow," she did not seem satisfied, and looked inquiringly at the king, who assured her it was the same kind of meat as they had had at the French consuls' dinner, and was very good. With the company in general it appeared to find great favour.

The guests appeared all very much at ease. My friend's claret I believe was good, and seemed to be acceptable. The king was in excellent spirits, unusually jocose, determined to be pleased, and to please others. The more substantial viands were followed by pastry and other dishes. Mrs. Toy, unknown to me, had sent to my servants a plumpudding, with directions how to cook it. This was brought in with the rest of the dishes, and was, I believe, generally approved. The queen observed in relation to the fritters, which quickly disappeared,

that they brought to her recollection visits to my house in former times. Tea and coffee were next brought in, and I observed that the former was generally preferred. It was handed round in very handsome cups and saucers which had been lent me by a friend.

In discussing with the ladies the comparative merits of tea and some stronger kinds of beverage, the king laughingly asked—"Which is best?" I said, "Tea, certainly, for it tends to produce lively and pleasant thoughts, making you cheerful and reasonable; while those who drink spirits are sometimes feverish and thirsty, and for the time being not always very wise." He laughed heartily, as did the queen and the rest of the guests. The king then said, "If drinking spirits makes you foolish, what does smoking hemp* do?" I said, "That is death, if continued." He then gave a description of the effect of smoking hemp which he had once tried, and said his friends all thought him dead. I said God had given us the grain that yields alcohol, the hemp that produces strong excitement, and the tangena which causes death. All had their use, and very powerful diseases might sometimes be cured even by poisons properly used. I said it was the taking them for the purpose of excitement or pleasure that caused us to take them in excess, and rendered them so injurious. The king then mentioned the valuable medicinal properties of many herbs and plants in Madagascar, to which I replied that I hoped the time would come when Madagascar would add to those means of curing and mitigating disease which the world already possessed.

During the time of the breakfast the band had been stationed in the court-yard of the house, and when before the introduction of tea and coffee, different toasts were proposed, appropriate airs were played. When the king proposed the health of Queen Victoria, we had as usual the English

* In some provinces hemp is smoked when more than ordinary excitement is desired, or in time of war when going into battle.

national anthem. When the table was cleared, I brought out some copies of the London "Illustrated News," one of which contained a portrait of the Princess Alice, with which the Queen seemed much pleased, as well as with the Prince, her husband, and accepted with expressions of pleasure the paper containing them. My guests also asked to see the negative of the photograph taken of the king that morning, and of the coronation, with both of which they seemed pleased. The queen then arranged that I should go to the palace to take her portrait the following Monday morning. I also exhibited in the stereoscope transparent views of some of our royal and other English residences, to the great satisfaction of my guests. Soon after three o'clock the queen rose to depart, the king, as usual, attending her to the door, where her majesty entered her palanquin; and then, preceded by the band, and followed by her ladies, and the king with his suite, they took a friendly leave, and wound their way, attended by a large number of officers and soldiers, and followed by crowds of people, up the hill side to the road leading to the palace.

On the following Sunday, I went to Amparibe, where, after the service, six persons were baptised, five of whom had been attendants on the martyrs, and those who had been imprisoned for Christ's sake. This occurrence relieved to some extent the depression which I felt throughout the day, on account of what I had heard respecting the king, who had been intoxicated with the French on the previous day. In this frame of mind I went to his house in the afternoon. The company was numerous, and the king respectful and attentive—several of the people unusually attentive, which revived my hopes that some good fruit might eventually appear. Notwithstanding all my discouragements here, I could not but think it was better for those who attended, as well as for the immediate neighbourhood, to have quiet public religious service on the Sunday, instead of the singing and music and dancing, which used formerly to characterise Sunday, as well as other days of the week.

I found afterwards that there was still some little ground for hope respecting the king, notwithstanding his weakness in yielding to the temptation to drink, for I was subsequently informed by parties who had been with him at the time, that on the day alluded to, and also on the following Sunday, the Frenchmen had gone to him in the afternoon, and had proposed dancing; and that two of the priests had gone and urgently remonstrated with him against his going himself so constantly, and leading the people to the Protestants, but never attending the Catholic place of worship, and even denounced against him the displeasure of God, declaring that he would soon lose his kingdom. I was told that the king persisted in refusing to have any dancing, and that he told the priests he did not send any of the people to the Protestants, but left each one to go to that worship which he preferred, as he did himself. He then invited the Frenchmen to go with him, which, of course, they declined.

On both these occasions I had noticed that the king and the greater part of the people were remarkably attentive during the time of worship. I knew that "faith cometh by hearing," and I could not help hoping, as well as praying, that some statement of God's word or some germ of God's truth might, by the Holy Spirit's influence on his heart, produce that divine change in the king which would make him a wiser and a better man. I did not blame the priests for going on the Sunday to the king to endeavour to dissuade him from attending his accustomed place of worship, if they considered it seemly to do so; nor did I complain of their trying to induce him to attend their religious services and to persuade others to do so. I refer to this merely to show some of the difficulties of my own position.

The day after the last of the Sundays to which I have referred, I found M. Lambert and several other Frenchmen with the king, and a number of natives dressed for dancing. The king said M. Lambert was to set out for Tamatave the following day, and had come to take leave of him. Seeing that there was prepa-

ration for drinking as well as dancing, I left the place, and was greatly distressed when, late in the evening, I heard that the king and his guests were all intoxicated together. I did not see M. Lambert again, and suppose he left the capital soon afterwards.

The English embassy had departed from the capital immediately after the coronation. M. Dupré having been two months in Antananarivo, had now been gone nearly a fortnight, and M. Lambert and other foreigners having also left, the city and neighbourhood were resuming their former quietude. The visits of my own countrymen had been to me peculiarly encouraging. With the French my intercourse had been less frequent; but from some of them I had uniformly received the courtesies which intelligent Europeans are accustomed to exchange with each other, when they meet in foreign countries. Towards M. Dupré, the chief of the French embassy, I had from the first cherished only feelings of respect. I was pleased with his frank and manly bearing, as well as with his generous and friendly sentiments towards the sovereign and government of Madagascar, and I scarcely expected that the unfounded reports of others would have prejudiced his mind against me, as I afterwards heard with regret had been the case. I was not surprised that the unfriendly statements circulated by other parties, and reported to me by my countrymen as well as by the Malagasy, should have found their way into the newspapers of Réunion and Mauritius, and ultimately France and England. One report respecting my intercourse with the king, published by the chief of the catholic priesthood in Madagascar, and which exhibited chiefly the impurity of the writer's own mind, was met by the party more immediately concerned, in a way which has prevented any subsequent attempt of the same kind.

With regard to M. Lambert's transactions with the prince, I heard too much about these from the people, and at times from the king himself, to make any secret of the unfavourable light in which they appeared to my own mind; and consequently

I was not surprised when I heard that he had denounced me as the worst man in Madagascar, and the source of all the mischief there, adding that there would be no good done, so long as I remained. Although I had expressed to the king himself, as well as to others, my deep regret that he generally returned from his breakfasts and dinners with the French in a state of intoxication, I did not suppose that his hosts or companions had exhibited the same excess. They had naturally exercised no restraint as to the beverages supplied, while he had yielded to the conviviality of the hour; and a very little wine or spirits affected him injuriously. I have seen him greatly excited by a small quantity of wine, and have been told by his officers that he would become quite intoxicated, while his companions remained unaffected and perfectly sober.

Hearing, as I frequently did, that the French priests looked upon me as the chief obstacle to their success, it appeared to me only natural that they should regard me with feelings of no very friendly nature. And yet I had always endeavoured to show them personally all suitable respect. I had honestly commended their industry, perseverance, and self-denial, and had most carefully avoided all controversy with them; but I could not in any way deviate from my duty out of deference towards them. One great charge preferred by their countrymen against me was that, but for me, the Catholic priests would have had a very prosperous mission at Antananarivo. I could not take to myself blame on that account, especially as we had laboured there so many years, with great expenditure of life and means, and under many discouragements, and had at length achieved, by God's blessing, so much, before any French priest ever came among the people.

But the accusations most strenuously urged against me were that I was too frequently at the palace; too often with the king, filling his mind continually with my own opinions, and not confining myself as I ought to my own missionary duties. These reports reached home, and these lines may perhaps fall under

the notice of some who have read or heard such reports. I therefore repeat that, whatever influence I may have possessed with the king had been honourably acquired, and was used solely for the advancement of the great objects of the mission with which I was connected—the improvement and religious benefit of the people. I never sought a single favour for myself personally. I was less with the king than he desired that I should be. With the exception of the day of the coronation, I had declined every invitation to dine with him, though messengers had not unfrequently been specially sent for me; and I had sedulously endeavoured to render my intercourse with him subservient to his own instruction and benefit, as well as to the good of the people. To the king, or those in power, I never offered an opinion on any but religious subjects, except when my opinion was asked; and excepting my daily visits to the king to read and converse with him, I never went to the palace without having been sent for, and then I invariably accompanied the officer, and entered the palace with him, in order that the other officers on duty within and without the palace, many of whom were heathen, and did not regard with favour the privileges of the Christians, might see that I had been sent for.

I did not consider that the friendship of the king arose from anything personal connected with myself, but that I was indebted for it mainly to the fact of my being an Englishman, and an English missionary. The use of writing, by which they transacted most of the business of the government, the numbers amongst the people who had been taught useful kinds of skilled labour, prevented their forgetting the self-denial and disinterested labours of the first missionaries. Until the arrival of the embassy and the missionaries, I was the only Englishman —the only English missionary in the country; and to this circumstance I ascribed much of the friendship and the kind attention which I received. This I considered rendered it increasingly incumbent on me to use such influence in furtherance of the great objects which had brought me to Madagascar.

The longer my intercourse with the king continued, the less sanguine I became of any very speedy religious success with him personally. Nevertheless, depending upon God's promised blessing, I felt that no amount of disappointment would justify my relinquishing any efforts I could make for his benefit; and that the very difficulties which appeared to increase, ought rather to stimulate greater efforts to save him if possible from the disastrous end to which his course seemed inevitably leading.

Thus influenced, I continued to go nearly every day for an hour, to read and converse with the king, and never saw the slightest evidence that my visits were unwelcome, but the reverse; and from the readiness with which he generally came when I arrived, and the pleasure he seemed to find in reading and conversing, I used to think sometimes that it was a relief to him to retire, and for a while to employ himself in this way; and I was not always sure that he did not think such occupation somewhat meritorious, and perhaps likely to recommend him to the favour of God. I always felt that, so long as he desired it, and made way for spending the time with me in this manner, it was my duty to go, and make the best use I could of the opportunity. I never concealed from him the pain which his irregularities, so far as I was acquainted with them, caused me, nor hesitated to declare the displeasure of God against all kinds of sin, and to unfold its proper consequences, either in explaining the Scriptures, or in more direct conversation with him. In all this, he never received my remarks with levity, nor with any manifestation of displeasure; generally in silence, sometimes with the remark that he intended to change, and should perhaps become a Christian.

Whether the people called Vazimba, the supposed earliest inhabitants of the central parts of Madagascar, were monogamists or not, we have no means of knowing. The Hovas, who first settled on the eastern borders of the country occupied by the Vazimbas, and ultimately expelled them, and have ever since

been masters of the country, appear to have been polygamists; for, according to their earliest traditions, a number of wives would seem to have been recognised amongst them, though there was only one legal wife: and, during six successive reigns, a period extending back to the time of Benyowsky, or perhaps one hundred years, twelve has been the lawful number of the sovereign's wives; and in the proclamations, and other public announcements, until lately, "the twelve wives" are mentioned as amongst the recognised and important bodies in the government. The sovereign alone was allowed this number. With others the number was regulated by the husband's means, or by other circumstances. Chastity amongst such a people might be said to be contrary to law, and seldom, if ever, existed, or was expected before marriage.

Of the state of morals in a condition of society of which the above law or usage indicates the tendencies, the members of a civilised and Christian community like our own cannot easily form an opinion, even approximating to the truth. And yet, so far as I have heard, this moral condition amongst the Malagasy was less repulsive than that which had prevailed in Tahiti, and in the Sandwich Islands, where, when I was there, the king, Tamehameha was married to his own half-sister, and a similar union was proposed between own brother and sister, both in themselves very amiable young people. When I expressed my abhorrence of such an engagement, those with whom I was conversing, said there were no others of equal rank with whom either could so associate, and that such an arrangement would secure homage from men, and favour from the gods. I have however only referred to this subject as it relates to what it is right that I should state in connection with the king of Madagascar.

On my first visit to the island in 1853, I heard that the prince royal was married to a princess of the royal family, the daughter of one of his mother's sisters, and of a distinguished officer of the first Radama, and that the nation approved of the

union. Subsequently I heard that the prince was living with another woman as his wife, whose name was Rasoamezy, or Mary, one who had been an attendant on his mother, the queen, and that she had become the mother of two children. During my visit to the capital, in 1856, Mary came in the suite of the prince to my house. She was young, agreeable, well-behaved, and seemed intelligent. I was told she was the *vady kely*, or *little wife*, of the prince, but nominally, and only so, the wife of his most trusted aide-de-camp, to whose special guardianship she was confided by the prince.

On my arrival in 1862, Mary was amongst the earliest of those who, after my introduction to the king and queen, brought me presents of welcome. I heard her well spoken of by the people, and observed that she was always treated with respect. Once or twice I have been at her house with the king, a mark of attention which it was customary with other visitors to pay, and I was at the king's house once or twice when she was there. The king sent his son, of whom Mary was the mother, to me for instruction, and he associated with my other pupils so long as they remained with me. I heard that Mary had zealously seconded the efforts of the king to save life among the people, to mitigate the suffering, and to aid in effecting the escape or security of the Christians in time of persecution; and that she had also generously succoured those who had returned from exile; amongst other acts of kindness, giving them money to buy articles of mourning during the general mourning for the late queen.

At the time when this relation of Mary's with the prince commenced, there was nothing in it contrary to law, for such engagements were provided for and regulated by law or general custom amongst that class of society. She was a free woman, consequently there was nothing to violate or offend public sentiment on the subject. She was considered lawfully and innocently the inferior wife of the prince, and was probably more envied than blamed by many of the Malagasy. She was

treated with respect by her countrymen, and was visited by any distinguished foreigners who came to the capital.

At the same time the people, without exception, rejoiced in the official marriage of the prince and princess. The one great hope of the nation was that, by this marriage, the succession to the throne might be secured, so as to admit of no dispute; for as rank descends only in the female line, Mary's children, whatever distinction they might personally obtain, could only inherit the status of their mother.

From my earliest intercourse with the royal pair, I had noticed with admiration the natural, easy, delicate, and respectful attentions of the prince to the princess, which was in no way whatever diminished after they became king and queen; and the refined manifestation of this same kind of esteem and friendly feeling, approaching sometimes to a kind of reverence, was never wanting on the part of the queen towards Radama. I never witnessed it without pleasure. They had been brought up together as cousins on their mother's side, and the people sometimes said they were like brother and sister, and that the marriage was for the sake of the kingdom.

However that might have been, the king's attachment to Mary seemed to be one of strong affection, though it did not prove of lasting constancy; and yet in the early manifestations of it, remembering as I did that in their apprehension there was no sense of wrong or guilt attached to the relation between them, there was not apparent anything contrary to the utmost propriety of behaviour; though I sometimes smiled at the eulogiums the king would pronounce on his *vady kely*, as when he once said to me—"I don't think there is a wiser woman in the whole world than Mary." Of that, however, I had at this time no means of judging, for I never spoke to her except in the slightest manner in the presence of the king or some of his officers, unless it might be occasionally when we exchanged salutations while passing in our palanquins on the road. Mary was not then a Christian herself, though she had shown

kindness to many who were such, and I always, when we did meet, treated her with respect, as I could not but cherish towards her sentiments of favourable regard for her good influence over the king.

What the behaviour of the princess was towards Mary at the commencement of the relation of the latter with the prince, I neither inquired nor heard; but after Mary, with the king's consent, had become the wife of another, the queen's treatment of her was certainly not unfriendly. When, in the month of March, 1863, the queen paid a visit to Ambohimanga, Mary went as one of her selected attendants, and at the banquet in the hall of the large palace, on the queen's return, Mary sate at the cross table at the upper end, by the side of the wife of one of the ministers, and not many seats from that occupied by the queen herself.

I have adverted to my remonstrating with the king on the subject of his intemperance. When he replied that his best friend was angry with him for associating with drunken men, that friend was Mary. Another instance of her good influence occurred soon after the departure of the French and English embassies, and which came to my knowledge at this period; for during my visit to the king on the 9th of October, he informed me that before Commodore Dupré left the capital he had asked him to make a journey to Tamatave, and go on board and see his ship. That he wished to go, for he had never been on board a ship, nor had ever seen the sea, but that Mary had most decidedly objected to it, saying that he could not go without a large retinue of soldiers and others; that the rains would soon commence, the roads become bad, and fever appear, when many of the people would suffer much, and numbers of them probably die, and he would be the sole cause of their deaths. That he professed to be very careful of the lives of the people, and yet would needlessly cause the death of many to gratify a wish that could be better gratified at another time, when a friendly ship might be there in the good season. He

said, she added, that if he did go, and if any of the people died, she could write to the newspapers—*andafy rano masina*—on the other side of the salt water, that Radama had caused all the deaths which had taken place. The king then asked my opinion about his own wish, and the objection urged against it. I said Mary was quite right in her objections. The season was too far advanced; the ravages of fever would soon commence—that he was safer and better at home, to say nothing about the people. I said it was very natural and commendable in him to wish to see the sea and the ships, but he would do well to select a better time. I told him I remembered the accounts of the first Radama's visit to Tamatave. He went in good health, remained on the coast five or six months, spent much of his time in feasting and drinking, came home at the end of the year the subject of hopeless disease, brought on by his own dissipation, and died during the next year at the early age of thirty-six years, only three years older than he was himself. I said, wait until some friendly commander comes at the good season, and then go down, and return without delay. It is very desirable that you should see more of your own country, and have intercourse with the people who come in the large ships. You will by that means understand much better than you possibly can do now, your friends from beyond the water, when you have seen the wonderful ocean, and the ships of war or commerce of those who come across that wide water to Madagascar. The king then said—"I have given up the thought of going now on account of what Mary said." He then added with much feeling—"If I know my heart, I would be as careful of my people's lives as of my own." I said, self-denial on the part of a sovereign for the good of his people was the sort of thing which his people would remember with pleasure, when many other things very pleasant at the time would be forgotten. I added—a king's life like that of other men is soon over, but his good deeds live after him—a king's name, like that of other men, would be loved or hated by those who follow him,

according as his conduct had been good or bad, and it was my sincere wish that his might be good; but it would be what he made it. He pressed my hand affectionately when I left him, and I asked him to present my regards to Mary, and to thank her from me for her good advice to him.

The king, who was much interested in the natural productions of his country, sent me, a short time after this interview, three men, with some specimens of minerals which they had brought from a distant part of the island, to ask me what they were. Some of them were lead, others copper, but as these had been melted, and contained few, if any, extraneous substances, I was not certain that they were not specimens of foreign metal. There was, however, one piece of green copper ore; others were crystallisations with which I was not acquainted. I told the king, the next time I saw him, that one of the specimens he had sent was copper, but that I did not feel certain the pieces of lead and copper had been found in the country. He said he thought they had, and he wished me to send them to England, as he should be willing to arrange with any Englishman to come and dig for them, if they were not afraid. But the country was swampy, and fever so prevalent, that few people lived there. I thought this account did not promise much encouragement for speculation in mining operations.

The large number of bearers required by visitors to the capital at the time of the coronation, had obliged the missionaries to leave the printing press and other goods on the coast; but as soon as the embassies returned, Mr. Parrett proceeded to Tamatave, in order to reduce the size of the packages, and arrange for their transport. The unhealthy season had, however, commenced. A number of persons at the port had already been struck down by the fever; Mr. Parrett himself became ill; and after sending off part of the press, and arranging for the conveyance of the rest, he was obliged to hasten back. Before he had proceeded a third part of the way, he was seized with

fever at Andevoranto, where M. Lambert, and two Catholic priests very kindly ministered to him in his illness, so that he was able to set forward again, and was gladly welcomed at the capital on the 18th of October, followed at no very long period afterwards by the printing press, the Scriptures, and other valuable goods.

About the close of the month, one or two murders were committed in or near Antananarivo. The murderers, according to the new code, were sentenced to chains for life, a mode of punishment which some of the people thought was too mild. This was the first time that I heard any dissatisfaction expressed with regard to Radama's policy, but by the greater number it was deemed preferable to the frequent destruction of life which had marked the late reign.

On the 29th we went, as custom required, to express our condolence with the family of Andriantsirangy, who had died during the previous night. He was a noble of high rank, and had been for many years chief judge of the nation during the late reign, his last official act having been to announce the death of his royal mistress, and to order national mourning for her loss. Adjacent to his dwelling we saw, as we approached, the queen. She was sitting in the house of one of the nobles, with unbraided hair, and wrapped in a black mourning dress, in the midst of her attendants, all exhibiting the same demonstrations of sorrow, while the room was filled with others uttering their wail for the dead.

On reaching the yard of the house in which the deceased was lying, we found a crowd of aged and other female slaves mourning in melancholy strains the departure of their master. A band was also outside, playing anything but funeral airs, while the firing of musketry and cannon continued at intervals. In a yard close by we saw nearly a hundred oxen herded for slaughter, and were told that many hundreds would be slain before the ceremonies were ended. Three thousand head of cattle, we were told, were among the possessions left by the deceased. On

approaching the house, we were conducted into a room where wine, spirits, and beer were offered but declined; we were then led to the large room, where the few articles of furniture visible betokened the wealth of the owner, and where, concealed within the silk and gold-fringed curtains of a bed, the corpse was lying.

The widow, surrounded by female members of the family, who were gathered round her, sat on the ground immediately in front of the bed, weeping and silent, except when occasionally uttering an exclamation of distress. Ten or twelve men sat around, holding, at the end of slender elastic handles, about six feet long, fans of varied and singular shapes, which they waved incessantly about the bed to drive away the flies, and guard the atmosphere above the dead. These fans were covered with scarlet cloth, and imparted a novel and singular aspect to the scene.

Outside the circle formed by the family, the floor of the room was crowded by women with dishevelled hair and sombre coarse clothing, wailing for the dead. We entered, and addressed a few words of sympathy and condolence to the widow and family on their bereavement, offered as our token of compassion a couple of silver coins, and retired.

The queen and the family each gave us an ox from those collected for slaughter, which, according to custom, was killed and distributed on the spot. In another yard we saw a number of workmen, probably slaves of the deceased, some making nails, others planing wood, and others putting together the frame of what might be termed a hearse. As we left, we saw men and boys running in every direction from the place of slaughter with large pieces of beef, portions of what had been distributed on the occasion.

The drumming and inharmonious music continued almost without cessation throughout the night; next morning we were startled by the regular firing of musketry, gradually coming nearer, and, on looking out, I saw the funeral procession in the

public road approaching my house. A number of men with muskets led the way, firing at irregular and short intervals, in the most random manner. Not one that I saw placed the butt of the musket against his shoulder, but they generally held it before them, with one hand grasping the barrel and the other the stock, holding it when they fired at any elevation, or in any direction that might happen.

The government officers led the procession. The body, contained in a kind of hearse, covered with scarlet and gold lace, was borne by the slaves of the deceased. Two military hats were placed outside the hearse; six men walked on each side, waving the scarlet fans as they passed along. The widow, clothed in black, sate alone in her palanquin, followed by the other members of the family, borne in the same way, the relations, friends, and slaves, clothed in black, all walking behind. The funeral was to take place in the neighbourhood of the extensive and beautiful lake of Itasy, about seventy miles distant, where the body of the late judge was to be placed in a tomb among the graves of his ancestors.

The extent of the missionary field at Antananarios and its environs, the peculiarity and urgency of its claims upon their attention, had impressed so strongly and appropriately the minds of the newly arrived missionaries, that immediately after their arrival they commenced earnestly and indefatigably the study of the native language, which they prosecuted with such success, that in less than two months they were able to begin intelligibly, and acceptably to the people, their great work of preaching the gospel to the Malagasy. The want of the Scriptures had been deeply and widely felt. Many individuals and families were without a copy even of the New Testament. This was the condition also of some preachers, and even in a whole congregation or village no copy of the Scriptures in some places existed. The joy which the arrival of the sacred books occasioned was proportionately great.

The liberal supply which the Bible Society had sent, not only

relieved this great want, but revived attention to public worship in the village congregations. Some of our native preachers, as well as the missionaries, now began to visit the villages, and every week brought us intelligence of Christian communities, and applications for help. Among these was Ambohimanga, a singularly beautiful and romantic-looking mountain city or village, twelve miles from the capital. The hill of granite on which it stands, rises abruptly four or five hundred feet from the undulating plain at the east end, and gradually slopes to the west, until it unites with the lower hills that spread to the north and west. The sides of the mountain, both north and south, are covered with luxuriantly-foliaged trees. A number of ancient buildings crown the loftiest summit; others appear at intervals on its sides, and cover the sloping ground at its base.

Next to Antananarivo, this had been for some generations past the most renowned and important place in Imerina. It was the capital, and the birthplace of the founder of the present dynasty, the birthplace of the first Radama, and the burial place of his successor, the site of the house of Rafantaka—one of their native idols—and distinguished for its exclusiveness, pretended sanctity, and hostility to Christianity. No foreigner was allowed to enter its gates, nor even a native who was not a resident, without a pass from the authorities. But even here there were Christians. They held worship in the house of a Christian family, and in the month of November they sought my assistance to obtain for them a piece of ground on which to build a chapel and erect a school. This the king cheerfully gave them. They then asked me to go and preach to them, which, having obtained the king's approval, I consented to do.

In the mean time the king sent instructions to the prime minister to inform the authorities of the place that he had granted the ground specified to the Christians, to request the authorities to deliver it to them, and to state that in about ten days I should go there to preach to the Christians with his entire approbation. On the day before I went, the king sent

a judge, one of the high officers of the government, to tell the authorities that I should be there on the following day; that as I came with his full approbation, he had no doubt they would receive me courteously, as his friend.

About five o'clock on Sunday morning, the 16th of November, I set out, accompanied by a friend, A.D.C. of the commander-in-chief, a native preacher, and some Christians. On the outskirts of the city we overtook the chief officer of the palace, himself a Christian, by eight o'clock reached Ambohimanga, and halted outside the gate. The inhabitants had observed our progress across the plain from the summit of the mountain, and we found the officer in command with a few soldiers drawn up also outside the gate, where the judge sent by the king was waiting for us. The officer of the palace then stated that a friend of the king's, a foreigner, and some Christians, had come to visit them and the Christians in the city, and that by his majesty's wish he had accompanied me. To this the chief replied, that what pleased the king was pleasing to them; that they were glad to see any one who was his friend, and they then expressed their loyalty and attachment to the king and the prime minister. After the usual salutations between my companions and the officers, the latter bade me welcome, and then giving the order to march, the drum beat, the officers and soldiers advanced, and we passed through the gate, the guard of honour with their music leading the way, I following next with the messengers from the king, and the Christians bringing up the rear.

As soon as we had all passed through the gate, the Christians began to sing, and thus we proceeded along the well-paved and gradually ascending road up the side of the hill, until we reached the open space, some considerable distance below the higher parts, where the buildings belonging to the sovereign are situated. Here we halted beneath the shade of a large spreading tree, apparently pandanus or dracæna, and left our friends with the authorities, who held a kabary,

while a Christian officer led the native preacher and myself to the house in which the Christians of the place and friends from adjacent villages, to the number of about two hundred, were already assembled. They occupied a newly-matted room, where a few chairs and a table stood near a window, outside of which a number of heathen were gathered.

After praise and prayer to the true God, Andriambelo the native preacher delivered a short but exceedingly appropriate address to the Christians within, and the heathen without, from 1 Peter ii. 17: "Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king." From these words, in a few brief, clear, and pointed sentences, he exhibited the fear of God in the heart as the foundation of all that is true in religion; their love towards each other as the tie that binds Christians together; the respect due to their fellow men,—and showed that loyalty to their sovereign was inculcated by the Christian law, as well as the fear of God.

After again singing, and praying with and for the people, we informed them that we would meet them again in an hour's time. We were then conducted through crowds of children and wondering heathen to the house of a Christian officer, where the officers from the capital took breakfast with us. On returning again to the house of worship, we found it so crowded that they had to request some of the company to come out before we could enter. After the singing and prayer, a native minister born in the place gave a short address. I then read and briefly expounded the parable of the "Prodigal Son," as illustrating the condition to which man, by departing from God, reduces himself, with the loving character of God the Father of all mankind, and the welcome of affection and joy which awaits every returning child. At the close of the service we sang the national anthem, which is a prayer for the king, and I told the company that, as we wished to visit another village on our return, we could not remain longer with them.

On leaving the house, we thanked the chief officers for a present of rice and poultry which they offered in token of their hospitality, and asked them to give it to the Christians, as we could not remain. We then walked together under the grateful shade of umbrageous trees, down the western or opposite side of the hill to that by which we had entered the city, and on reaching the plain below, the officers took friendly leave of us.* We then proceeded southward to Namehana and Fenoarivo, at the latter of which we found a congregation equal to that at the place we had left, assembled in a new village chapel. To these my native companion delivered an excellent address. Soon after three o'clock we resumed our journey homewards, and in less than two hours reached the suburbs of Antananarivo, the palace of which had been distinctly visible ever since our departure from Ambohimanga.

On entering the city, the officer of the palace hastened to inform his brother, the prime minister, of the favourable reception we had experienced. Mr. Cousins had, on the same day, opened, under encouraging circumstances, a new place of worship at the important village of Imerinamandroso, four or five miles to the west of Ambohimanga.

* Such having been the actual course pursued on this visit to Ambohimanga, I was somewhat surprised on receiving, nearly nine months afterwards, from high quarters at home, a copy of an official report from Madagascar, which was sent to me for "explanation." In this accusation it was stated that, before making the above visit, I had obtained from the king "armed followers," and had gone to "preach there by force," and that I had afterwards induced the king to degrade "all the officers who, in the first instance, resisted," &c., &c. The facts above stated afforded ample explanation, and I only advert to the circumstance in connection with my visit, to caution my readers against giving too ready credence to reports from such an out-of-the-way place as the capital of Madagascar. There were two or three other versions of the same account. I heard it was stated that I had preached at the point of the bayonet on the tomb of the late queen; and I read in a newspaper, that I had gone with the late king to Ambohimanga to pray at the tomb of his mother for the repose of her soul. All these reports were about equally true; as was also another report, sent to the Acting Governor at Mauritius, that I had prevented the signing of the treaty, as first presented, because I had stated, in answer to the king's inquiry, that the English and Malagasy versions were not alike.

This good beginning, however, so far as related to the ancient and sacred city, did not last long without interruption. One of the native preachers went from Antananarivo for two successive Sundays after my visit; but in the course of a fortnight there was a great stir in the city. A number of Christians from Ambohimanga came to complain to the king that the officers of the place, on the preceding Sunday, had refused admission to the native preacher, had torn down the matting, removed the table and chairs out of the house where the Christians worshipped, placed sentries at the door, and forbidden the people to meet for worship. The king sent for the authorities and reprimanded them for disobeying his orders, which they said they understood as applying only to my visit, and not to worship by the natives only. The king reminded them that his proclamation on coming to the throne made no exception against freedom of worship in Ambohimanga; that he had ordered them to give the house to the Christians for worship some time before I went. He then removed the officers who had been guilty of this outrage from their posts,* and appointed others in their stead. All this was done before I saw the king, but as I was going to him at the usual hour, I met the parties returning, and learned that one reason assigned for stopping the worship was that the usual rain had not come, and that the crops would fail, and the people would be starved, on account of the displeasure of the idols at the worship of the Christians.

Rahaniraka, the foreign secretary, had been ill for about a week, and early in the morning after my return, hearing that he was dying, I hastened to his house. I found him unconscious and sinking. I had visited him daily during his illness,

* I regretted that, as this was the first offence, the king had not, after condemning their conduct, and warning them of the consequences of any repetition of the same, given them another opportunity of obeying; but many of the people said the order was so explicit, and the authority by which it was delivered so high, that the king had done right.

and had spoken to him, and prayed with him when I had reason to suppose that he was conscious of what I said, which indeed was but very seldom. The scene in his sick room was often deeply affecting. The members of his family were untiring in their kind attentions. In the room with him I often found one of the Catholic priests, while in the room adjoining, his sister, the wife of a judge, but not a Christian, would be employing the sikidy or divination for his recovery. On this occasion I endeavoured to speak consolingly to his wife and family, some of whom are sincere Christians. I had prayed with them before I left, and about one o'clock in the day I received a message to say that the spirit had departed. The king and the two ministers, who were present when I went later in the day, appeared deeply affected by the unexpected suddenness of his removal. The king hinted his suspicions of foul play on the part of some enemy. I said I thought it was rather to be ascribed to ignorance on the part of those from whom he had sought the means of recovery, and to the loss of all stamina or power to resist disease. I took occasion to speak of the danger of delaying preparation for the great change common to us all, as the deceased had said the last time I conversed with him, while he was sensible, that he hoped to become a Christian before he died.

The next day, when I paid a visit of condolence to the family of Rahaniraka, I found them exhausted with fatigue. The king's band was playing in the yard, the house was crowded with mourners. The wife of the commander-in-chief, the sister of the prime minister, Mary and others, were employed in decorating the bier and hearse, and numbers of cattle were being slaughtered. At seven o'clock next morning the funeral procession, which resembled that of Andriantsirangy, passed my house on its way to his village, Inosy, in the north, where the interment took place.

I had first known Rahaniraka when he was a school-boy in England, at which time he appeared to be under religious

impressions, and I always felt grateful for the many acts of kindness which I had received from him in Madagascar.

On the evening of the day before the funeral, the commander-in-chief came to ask if I could inform him what was the course pursued in England in reference to medals or decorations on the death of officers on whom the sovereign conferred such distinctions. Were they buried in the tomb with the deceased as was the custom in Madagascar? or did they descend, like other possessions, to the children? I said that in England I never heard of any being buried with the wearer. Some I knew were returned to the sovereign by whom they had been bestowed, others might be kept as memorials, or even heirlooms in the family, but I believed would not confer on the descendant the distinction enjoyed by the original recipient. Rahaniraka had received two decorations, one from the late queen, the other from the present king, and the inquiry made in reference to the mode of disposing of them, issued, I believe, in their being left with the oldest son, who succeeds to his father's position as head of the family, and also in association with his cousin as one of the English foreign secretaries.

In the course of a week the funeral ceremonies were over, and the family returned. I was glad to see them more composed and tranquil since the first paroxysm of grief had subsided.

The following occurrence may illustrate the condition of the non-Christian portion of the rural population. A tomb had been prepared in the centre of the village of the deceased chief, Rahaniraka, not more than a yard or two from the houses. In this tomb, together with the body, many valuable articles of dress, &c., had been deposited, as it would be considered highly improper for any of the survivors to use or wear what had personally belonged to the deceased. A stone had been placed against the door of the tomb, and a large quantity of earth had been heaped up on the outside as a temporary protection until the tomb could be regularly finished and permanently secured.

A night or two afterwards the family had been startled by the firing of muskets in the yard, and, on going out, they found that ten men had been discovered by the watch, who had fired upon them, attempting to violate the tomb; the robbers had fled, pursued by the watchmen and others, but without being overtaken. They had dug away the greater part of the earth from the door, but the stone had not been removed when they were disturbed by the firing of the watchmen. The young chief told me he had sent five men, armed with muskets, and provided with ball, to strengthen the guard left in the village until the tomb could be made secure by masonry.

Thieving among the Malagasy is extremely daring, and never more so than in the robbing of tombs. It is customary among the non-Christian part of the community, when they have little if any property to deposit in the grave, to place a few small pieces of money in the mouth of the corpse, and unless well secured, the grave, even in this case, will perhaps be opened for the purpose of taking these few pieces of silver from between the jaws of the dead.

CHAPTER IX.

Afflicting tidings from England—Kindness and sympathy from the people—Treaty between England and Madagascar—Disturbance created by a thunder-storm—Opening school for young nobles—Letter from the King of Johanna—Letter from Dr. Livingstone—Reported importation of slaves to Madagascar—News from Europe and America—Destructive effects of lightning—Damages by storm and flood—King and Queen attend the churches on Christmas-day—Origin of the native ministry in Madagascar—Plan of church organisation—Efforts to extend the Gospel in the city—Disappointment on account of the proceedings of the King—Atrocious heathen murder.

TIDINGS from England of the death of my only remaining daughter arrived about this time, and though it had occurred beneath my own roof, with every alleviation which affection and kindness could supply, and was unaccompanied by any doubt as to the blessed change which had been experienced, yet, coming as it did, when my own health was suffering somewhat severely from the first experience of the worst season of the year in Madagascar, it added much to my depression of spirit. But I mention this chiefly to show how the blessed Gospel softens and humanises our common nature, and brings out some of the most gentle, pure, and kindly influences which one spirit can diffuse over another.

I was content to bear alone in that distant land the stroke which had fallen upon me, comforted by the sympathy of those kind brethren and sisters who, like myself, were, so far as home affections were concerned, strangers in a foreign land. But though illness confined me to my house and to my room, there was, I believe, scarcely a Christian family connected with my

own congregation some of whose members did not come to visit me when they heard of my illness and affliction. Some who came, after a few words of sympathy, seated themselves in silence on the floor beside my couch; others took their station outside the door of my room to prevent my being needlessly disturbed; while others brought as a present, perhaps a little white clean rice, or a few ripe fruits. The king sent two of his officers, the prime minister's wife sent a messenger with kind inquiries. The commander-in-chief, who lived near, and one or two other nobles, came to express their sorrow, and listened with deep interest while I tried to speak of the grounds of a Christian's consolation and support under the bereavement of death, so strikingly different from anything conceived of or experienced under similar circumstances amongst themselves.*

Most of my visitors wore some token of mourning, and when I was so far recovered as to attend public worship again, and saw most of the congregation, several even of the slaves, wearing some slight sign of mourning, I felt afresh that Christianity made men feel, amid all the diversities of climate, colour, language, or grade in what we call civilisation, that they belong to one family; and that the Gospel never seems more universally applicable than in those seasons of human sorrow which, sooner or later, come to all mankind.

Thirty years had now passed away since the late Queen Rana-

* Whatever ideas the Malagasy may entertain of the condition of the spirits of those who have died, they afford no alleviation of the anguish which death occasions. The loss is felt to be irreparable, the grief beyond control; only relieved or obliterated by other sources of excitement. Hence the demoniacal practices which characterised certain tribes of the Polynesians on such occasions, and the firing of musketry and beating of drums, with other music, which accompany the impassioned wailing of Madagascar. Their desire to avoid the revival of ideas connected with the dead was strikingly impressed upon me soon after my last arrival at the capital. I had taken the portrait of a lady of rank, who died during my absence, leaving two children, one was among my pupils. I was one day exhibiting the portrait to an officer who knew the lady, and mentioned my intention to show or give it to the children. He dissuaded me from doing so. I said, "Why not?" He answered, "Because it will revive remembrance of their mother, and renew their sorrow."

valona had withdrawn from the treaty of amity and commerce with England, into which, eleven years before, the first Radama had entered. The British agent had then been ignominiously expelled from the country; and although the ports, excepting for a short period, were open to traders, no other relations between England and Madagascar were allowed.

Radama II., on ascending the throne, had made known his desire to enter into relations of friendship and commerce with other nations, and the occasion of his coronation had been deemed suitable by England and France for accomplishing this object. The first treaty of friendship and commerce between France and Madagascar had been arranged by the chief of the French embassy, and that with England remained to be negotiated by the British consul.

Towards the close of November, several officers came one morning early to ask me to look over with them, and to correct if necessary, the translation into Malagasy of the treaty which the consul had presented to them. Later in the day the king sent for me to the palace, where the treaty was considered, article by article, by the king and his ministers, and the secretaries were directed to include the alterations in a fair copy, and return it to the consul.

Since the death of the late foreign secretary, the king had asked me to assist his present servants, the son and nephew of the deceased officer, in the translation of the correspondence in English. This I had cheerfully done; but when, during the absence of the young chief while attending the funeral ceremonies of his deceased father, the king asked me to sign the documents I had translated, I informed him that it would not be suitable for me to do so, and recommended that his majesty, until the return of the officers, should affix his own signature to the documents which it was necessary to send away.

On the 4th of December, when I went to the king with some letters I had translated, he informed me that the next day was

fixed for the signing of the treaty, and that he wished the English missionaries to be present, and to dine with him afterwards. Looking at the kitchens as I crossed the yard homewards, I felt inclined to glance at the preparations for a royal dinner. The king accompanied me, and I was certainly somewhat surprised at the abundance of the provision, and at the whole scene before me. Six or seven large earthen boilers were ranged in a line along the wall opposite the door in the first room. Fires of wood were burning brightly under each boiler, in which viands of different kinds were already cooking. The smaller cooking utensils were of wrought iron of native workmanship, and were fixed on iron trivets, or over open fire-places. With the exception of soup, the dinner, like the coronation banquet, was to be cold. I then proceeded to the next and much larger room, where I was amazed at the quantities of poultry, game, fish, sheep, pigs, and beef collected together. The vegetables, I was told, were in another place. The game and poultry were arranged each kind separately, but all in one lot on a bench, or with matting and fresh plantain leaves spread on the floor. The fish, most of which seemed alive, were arranged in a similar way in large earthen pans in a separate place, and so was the meat. When I expressed my surprise at the largeness of the preparation, I was told that the feast was not for the guests only, but also for all the officers in attendance, and for the whole establishment. Two superintendents, respectable looking men, appeared to have the direction of the whole; and the cooks, all men, were cleanly in their persons and dress, and all very busy.

The next morning the aspect of the sky was threatening, and as the rainy season had commenced it was no merely passing shower that was feared. The king sent word that he wished us to attend at ten o'clock instead of four. There was a kabary or public meeting of the king and the officers of the government at Andohalo in the morning, as I understood, in relation to the treaty. It was nearly the time fixed, when the king, riding

on horseback, followed by the rest of the procession, passed my house towards the palace. I went to Ambohimitsimbina, accompanied by Mr. Toy, and we entered the gate to the yard around the king's house immediately after the last of the royal guards.

The prime minister and other officers of state, were all in full dress. The king wore a richly silver-embroidered frock-coat of pink or scarlet velvet, lined with white satin. He was easy, affable, and cheerful; and, in my estimation, never appeared to greater advantage as a young and hopeful ruler, than on this occasion. The French consul and his friends were also present.

When the British consul had read the English copy of the treaty, Ramaniraka, the king's secretary, read the same in Malagasy, and the high officers who, in consequence of a difference between the English and the Malagasy version of the document previously presented, were somewhat anxious on the subject, being now satisfied that the latter was correct, the king attached his signature. Two of the ministers and the secretaries then signed. The national airs of England and Madagascar were played; the cannon on the hill side announced the completion of the welcome engagement; and success to the treaty was drunk amidst mutual and very hearty congratulations. The company, to the number of about thirty, soon afterwards sat down to a sumptuous breakfast, which was to have been a dinner had the morning promised more auspiciously. The prime minister sat opposite the king. The widow of prince Ramboasalama and Mary sat next to the king, one on either hand, the English and French consuls next to them. A lady of the court in the same way sat on each hand of the chief minister and the principal guests.

After the soup and one or two dishes had been served, the storm which had long been threatening, burst in thunder and lightning over us, followed by heavy rain. The building in which we were assembled was a new one, thatched with a long and durable kind of grass which had been freshly cut, and as

MEMBERS OF THE MALAGASY GOVERNMENT.

Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis.

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Rainandriantsilavo

16th Honour. First Officer of the Palace.

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16th Honour. Chief Secretary of State.

Rainilaiarivony

Prime Minister.

this was the beginning of the rainy season it was not yet well matted together. The sudden heavy rain consequently soon began to penetrate the roof, and drops fell through the floor of the room above upon the table and the guests. The ladies rose and retired to another apartment at the northern end of the building, where the water did not penetrate. The rain continued, and we were obliged soon after to leave the table and the room, and to seek shelter with the ladies, where a native musician from a distant province gave us some exceedingly simple but pleasant music on the valia, a native instrument. Notwithstanding the continuance of the rain and the wetness of the floor, two successive companies of thirty each had surrounded the well-replenished table after we had left the room. About two o'clock, as the rain had slightly diminished, I took leave of the king, and after searching for my hat, which I found half full of water, made the best of my way home.

Four days afterwards I went with Mr. Stagg, the superintendent of education, and some of the other missionaries, to open, in the stone house, the school for the sons of the nobles and others, Mr. Toy, whose residence was near, having, since the coronation, kindly taken them under his instruction. The king's workmen had finished some excellent forms and desks, as well as other fittings. There were twenty pupils present, twelve of whom had been formerly under my instruction. After singing a hymn, the Scriptures were read by Mr. Cousins. I then addressed the young men and boys assembled, and Raberazana, who had been appointed by the king to assist Mr. Toy, offered prayer to God to bless the instruction given to the young men and others, whose character and career will probably greatly influence their country hereafter.

On the 9th of December, the day on which we opened the school, the king received a letter in English from Sultan Abdalla, king of Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, which he asked me to read to him. The letter, which was dated the 26th of September, and had been sent up to the capital, from the

port of Mojanga on the west coast, expressed the condolence of the Sultan with Radama, on the death of his mother, the late queen, whom he highly eulogised; congratulated the king on his accession to the throne without difficulty or bloodshed, and spoke of the advantages of his liberal policy, which had extended to Johanna. Abdalla then referred to the friendship which had subsisted between his own father and the late queen of Madagascar, the mother of Radama, expressing his hope that the same would exist between themselves, and concluded with assurances of the pleasure it would give him to be able in any way to serve the king of Madagascar. The king was much pleased with the letter, and asked if I would translate or prepare a letter in reply, which I promised to do.

Some time afterwards, I received another letter from the Comoro Islands, written by my old and valued friend, Dr. Livingstone. I brought its contents under the notice of the king, the first opportunity; and they were so honourable to the writer, and so characteristic of his manly and noble spirit, that I scarcely feel it necessary to offer any apology for inserting the whole letter here, especially as it relates chiefly to circumstances intimately connected with the moral progress and general prosperity of countries like Madagascar.

"MOHILLA ISLAND, *25th of August*, 1862.

"MY DEAR MR. ELLIS,

"THOUGH there is not much probability of a letter reaching you from this out-of-the-way spot, yet the promise of the queen, who is a relative of Radama II., to forward it to Bambatouk by the first dhow going thither, and the value I myself put upon a letter when in somewhat similar circumstances, induce me to make the attempt at a word of salutation. In coming hither we ran close along a part of your western shore; and you in your most important and interesting work were brought vividly to my recollection. I need not say how

earnestly I wished you health and prosperity, and God's abundant blessing.

"The queen here is said to be a cousin of Radama II., and she is under French protection—was made much of in view of probably being one day made use of as a claimant to the throne of Madagascar. We met Père Finasse here last year—you write the name *Finez;* but I suspect their hopes are now dimmed. She is married to an old stick of an Arab of Zanzibar, and has become a Mahomedan, which may be an improvement on the old ways of the Malagasee. Two of her subjects were opposed to the Arab husband's protective policy, and the French removed them to Mayotta, as prisoners of state. She is a nice little body, and as she admired the portrait of our queen the last time I was here, I took your book to show the pictures of the prince and princess. But in presence of the old husband she had to be a good Mahomedan, and not look at the image of any living being. I think that your people may thank the Supreme Ruler, who has guided the feet of the messengers of the Gospel of Christ to their shores, instead of the emissaries of soul-cramping superstitions.

"A great deal of slave-trading goes on from the coast of Africa to Majama Bay, near Cape St. Andrew. The people here name the principal slave-port Menabay. It is carried on chiefly by Arab dhows; and if Radama II. knew half the miseries inflicted on Africa by those who carry on the traffic, he would not hesitate to imitate Radama I. in stopping the export of slaves, by at once forbidding their import into his dominions. This one great act of Radama I. is always mentioned as the glory of his reign, and it will be quoted to his fame in all future generations. I would not dictate this measure, *but* I have no doubt, that should his attention be drawn to the subject, and information be obtained, his own sense of what is right will lead him to legislation such as will bless both Madagascar and Africa. Apart from all considerations of justice and mercy, it is impolitic to allow a traffic which

tends to render labour unpopular. The Malagasee will rise in the scale of nations only by hard work. You may tell him, if you think it proper, that while labouring to put a stop to this horrid traffic by pacific means, it will be a joy to my heart in Africa if he will co-operate in the same noble work in Madagascar.

"I got out a steamer at the beginning of this year for Lake Nyassa, whence there is an export annually of 19,000 slaves to Zanzibar alone. She is in pieces, and when we get up to the cataracts of the Shire we shall unscrew her, and carry her past; but we had to put her together first in the low Zambesi delta, and had great sickness in consequence. My dear wife, whom I never intended for that exposure, was the only victim of the fever, and I now feel lonelier in the world than before. Much reduced by sickness; and having a Johanna crew who wished to return home, we came away in the *Pioneer*, and found her a good little ship on the ocean. She rose on the huge waves from the south like a little duck. Need I say that I felt a little proud when, by the sole guidance of a land lubber like your servant, we lay to at three A. M. of 23rd, deeming ourselves seven or eight miles off Mohilla, and as day dawned, found curselves in sight of this, the first land we had seen since we left the Zambesi. You must excuse this little bit of boasting egotism. We go on to Johanna, and thence to Rovuma, being still very anxious to get an outlet for Lake Nyassa, away from our inveterate slave-dealing friends the Portuguese.

"Possibly you have later intelligence from Europe than we, but in case you have not, I may say that the war in America still goes on; that the slave question is coming at last prominently forward. The president offers to ensure pecuniary compensation to any state that may abolish slavery. This may be only in order to secure the border states, which have but few slaves, to the Union. But the question has forced itself upon the government, and more must be done than these worthies imagine. An engagement between two iron-plated

vessels—South and North, after pounding at each other for five hours, ended so differently from the fight of the Kilkenny cats, that the *Times* declares that the whole British navy consists of only six ships, viz., our iron-plated ones. Several wooden ships were destroyed by the southern iron-plated one, with the greatest ease, and we are now all activity in iron-plating men-of-war. In France religious questions excite the greatest interest of any. Thanks to the Pope for his obstinacy, the Italians made a demonstration against the poor old man's temporal sovereignty, and this causes many to search for light in spiritual matters. The Bible is recognised more and more widely as the cause of England's prosperity, and one pious Italian named Perfetti, says, that having asked many true disciples what had led them to Jesus and to peace, he always received this answer, "the Bible," "the writings of the Fathers," or "the Cross is the way of light," or pointing silently to heaven; "but none ever referred to the priests, or the high dignitaries of the Church of Rome." Very considerable changes are made for the better in education in Austria. Rev. Dr. Reed, of London, and Rev. Professor Cuningham, of the Free Church, are dead. Our good little queen bears up bravely against her heavy bereavement: and I cannot wish better for Radama and his queen than that they may be as much beloved for their virtues, as is our own beloved sovereign by us all. With good wishes, I am,

"Affectionately yours,

"DAVID LIVINGSTONE."

"Can you get any of those famous big eggs? (Dinornis) I got a small bit."

The king was interested, and deeply affected by Dr. Livingstone's statement of the frightful number of slaves exported *vid* Zanzibar. In reference to Madagascar, he said it was contrary to his wishes and orders that any should be imported to the country, and he did not think there could be many brought in. He had sent orders to the authorities to prevent slaves

from another country being landed, or sold, for if it was wrong for them to export slaves themselves, it was wrong to encourage others to do so. Subsequently, I received a letter from an officer who had been on the west coast in one of our own cruisers, stating that slaves in considerable numbers were landed in Madagascar. I mentioned the circumstance to one of the high officers of the government, and stated my opinion that any indirect participation in the trade, or connivance on the part of the Malagasy authorities would weaken the confidence of England in their integrity, and might lessen the feeling of friendship towards them. The officer replied that he did not think a Malagasy functionary would dare to aid, or encourage the traffic, and that any slaves brought in must have been landed clandestinely, and that the government would be glad if British ships would seize as prizes any Arab, or other vessels having slaves on board. They had, he observed, no ships of their own, and could not prevent ships with slaves on board coming, but they afforded them no protection.

To myself Dr. Livingstone's letter was welcome and refreshing. It was just the kind of letter which one Christian labourer might be expected to write to another so circumstanced. I had been near him abroad, some years before in Mauritius: we had been long acquainted, and I had last met him in London, and when I found that he had sailed along the west coast of Madagascar, it did not seem to me that we were so far apart as before. I had always honoured his noble self-devotion, and stedfastness of purpose in pursuit of the great objects at which he aimed. I had always believed that "the end of the geographical was to be, in his aim, the beginning of the missionary enterprise, and that in whatever direction his steps might tend, he would carry with him a true missionary heart. I believed also that he was, to his own apprehension, furthering the great missionary work by opening up new fields to Christian effort, and by endeavouring to substitute, for the misery, and the murderous barbarism of the slave trade,

honourable and lawful commerce as a means of preparing the way for the entrance of the Gospel of freedom and of peace. I have sympathised deeply with him in the heroic patience he manifested under the suffering and disappointment recorded in his last volume, and most earnestly desire for him an easier path, and happier results, in the arduous enterprise in which he is now engaged.

The thunderstorm which had so inopportunely driven away the king's guests from the table at which they were assembled, after the signing of the Treaty, was not the first of the season. The rains had commenced with a storm as violent, but of shorter duration, about a fortnight earlier. Rain now fell more frequently, and continuously, and thunderstorms, sometimes with hail and wind generally from the south-west or north-west, were exceedingly violent. Storms come on so suddenly, that I have known the people who had walked to church comfortably on the Sunday afternoon, find parts of the road, which is often the water-course, after the lapse of two hours, so flooded by a storm, that they had to walk nearly up to their knees in water, and the water still rising so rapidly that delay would endanger their reaching home at all.

The storms of hail are sometimes most terrific and dangerous. A friend of mine, who had been cutting timber in a forest, told me that four slaves had been killed in the same forest during a storm that season. The king said he had received intelligence that two of his slaves were killed in the same storm. The hailstones were described as being nearly as large as an egg. Some said there were pieces of ice still larger. The king and others also related, that five years before, a hundred and fifty oxen were killed by lightning during a storm near the Ankaratra mountains, situated about seventy miles to the south-east of the capital. Few seasons pass without some lives being destroyed by lightning or hail in the city or neighbourhood, though all the best houses are protected by lightning conductors. It was reported this season that a female slave was killed by lightning

in a house not far from my residence. I was repeatedly cautioned against sitting near the wall, or sleeping in the corner of a room, as it is supposed that the electric fluid more frequently strikes one of the angles, than any other part of a building. I once received about nine o'clock at night the following warning note from a neighbour—"Don't sit near the wall of your house, but fix your seat in the middle of the room, for the lightning is very dangerous to-night."

At the commencement of the rainy season the people were extremely busy in the rice-fields. As the season advances, the rain falls almost daily, with only an interval of fine weather for a short time in the morning, during which time we found it necessary to hold some of our week-day services in the morning, as an afternoon without rain seldom occurred. Sometimes the rain continues without ceasing for two or three days, when many of the inhabitants are prisoners, and excepting by the slaves, there is little communication between the different parts of the city. During this time the weather was so wet, that we seemed to be living in an atmosphere of steam.

A month or six weeks after the commencement of the rains, the country around Antananarivo appeared like a different region from that on which we had looked out during the preceding part of the year. The sides and summits of the hills were clothed with verdure, the leaves were thickening on the trees, the native fig, and other trees were in full fruit, and abundance of green peaches were seen in the daily market. The rice plantations which extend towards the banks of the Ikiopa on the west, and stretch away for many miles over the richly cultivated valley of Betsimitatatra to the north, were of the brightest, freshest green where the soil is high. The fallow lands were well covered with water, while the river was rolling along with impetuous and augmented force, and all the water courses gurgling and frothing with repletion as they hurried along.

The water guardians at this time are increased in number,

and sometimes when, after long and heavy rain, the flood is too large to be restrained within the banks, and rolls over into the cultured fields, or when the banks, which are generally well built with earthen sods, give way, the sovereign, or chief minister, summons the entire male population to hasten to the spot, and repair the breach. Sometimes this summons has come on the Sunday morning, and the aged women and children alone have constituted our congregations.

It was a strange spectacle, and were it not for the damage to be dreaded, would have been a grand and beautiful sight, to see one sheet of water spreading from the granite hill on which the city stands, to the foot of the village-crowned mountain of the giant Rapeto, a distance of about three miles to the west, and stretching to the north as far as the eye could reach; spotted near the city with little artificially raised, verdant, and wall-encircled islands, and farther off winding among clumps of hills that seemed to rise like peopled islands from the waters.

I was myself a sufferer from a subsequent flood during the first wet season I spent at the capital. My house stood on a terrace about eighteen feet below the high road leading from the palace to the north. On the western side a wall of clay and stone, five or six feet high, formed the boundary between my enclosure and the road. After three days' continuous rain, and the wind blowing in strong fitful gales, with hurricane from first W. then from N.W., the thermometer ranging between 55° and 60°, ten or fifteen degrees lower than usual at this time of the year; the foundations of the wall above my house were loosened, and at length six or eight yards of the wall gave way under the accumulated pressure of the wind, and the water rushing down the road. The wall, with part of the stones and earth on which it stood, came down in the night with a fearful crash, forcing in the end, and part of the roof of a small house, which I had built close to my residence for photographic purposes. The east end of the house was soon filled with the débris, and what was worse, a new channel was opened for part

of the flood from the road which forced itself through the house, across the yard, and out by the western gate to the hollow below.

Daylight showed a scene of terrible disaster; the boxes inside crushed by the weight of earth and stone, most of the glass and bottles broken, and such of the chemicals as were soluble dissolved by the water, or mixed with the mud and stones. An end was put to my photographic operations until I could repair the loss from England. Not more than one or two negatives which I had removed into my dwelling-house were saved. I was thankful that my dwelling-house was uninjured. My neighbours promptly brought their labourers to help. The commander-in-chief sent some soldiers, but mid-day was past before the place was cleared, and the water led into another channel, when I sent and purchased a quantity of cooked manioc for the labourers and soldiers. The rain continued to fall, and my friends advised me to remove my bed to the western side of my house, lest another part of the wall should be washed down in the course of the following night. Many houses were blown down during the storm, two persons killed in one near my own, and another house at a short distance, and part of the wall of one of the chapels, was blown down, and much growing rice injured by the flood.

The Christians had been for some time accustomed to meet for worship on Christmas day, and, as far as practicable, to assemble on that day at each other's dwellings or places of resort. As the season approached this year, they proposed, after their worship, to go together to pay their respects to the king; but hearing that the priests had invited his majesty to attend their Roman Catholic mass in the morning of that day, they decided to ask him to attend worship at one of their churches, in another part of the same day. He very readily promised to come to them after he left the Catholic church, and afterwards sent them word that the queen would accompany him; but they naturally found some difficulty in believing that such an event would really take place. The church to which they had invited the king,

though the first place erected exclusively for Christian worship, had been for twenty years used as a prison, where Christians and other criminals had been confined, often in chains; whence the former had been led forth to execution; and it had been, as the heathen considered, otherwise defiled. Although now enlarged and appropriated to its original purpose, they could scarcely persuade themselves that the son and the niece of the late queen, and the actual rulers of the country would publicly come to sanction by their presence Christian worship there. They said it would be the greatest wonder which had ever occurred in the capital, and that no one afterwards would be able to say that the king and queen disapproved of the people becoming Christians.

Finding that the king really meant to come, the men set about to repair the broad path from the high road to the building. The women and their slaves lined the inside walls with new matting, and covered the floor with a kind suitable for that purpose. A sort of dais, or slightly raised portion of the floor was prepared on which chairs, furnished by some of the nobles, were placed for their majesties, and others for their suite.

Soon after eight o'clock on the morning of the 25th of December, 1862, the king and queen passed my door in state on their way to the Catholic church. I set out immediately after on my way to Ambatonakanga, nearly half a mile beyond. We had just concluded our own worship there, and a large number from the other two congregations had joined us, when about half-past nine the king and queen, attended by the officers of state, and the British consul, were seen coming along the main road, the sides of which were crowded with spectators who were either gratified with the pageant, or wondering at the event.

The heads of the Christians saluted their sovereigns as they entered the yard around the rudely thatched church; and, followed by their suite, they were conducted to the seats pro-

vided for them. There were more than two thousand persons within and around the building. The royal party appeared surprised at the numbers assembled, and both the king and queen were remarkably attentive. After the service had closed and they had left the place, her majesty expressed herself as impressed with the order of the service, the attention of the people, and as also pleased with the singing.

I could not but hope that good might result to the sovereigns themselves from witnessing the proceedings, and the demeanour of the Christians in their worship; and I felt persuaded that the influence of the royal visit would be favourable in at least preventing our opponents from declaring that their majesties were opposed to our public services, and to the attendance of the people on our instruction. A week afterwards when the king and the queen breakfasted with me on New Year's day, the queen, in referring to the service, said she approved of any of the members of her own household who were Christians attending their own public worship.

I have already spoken of the wide dispersion of the Christians during the long period of persecution which often scattered to remote provinces members of the same Christian family. I have also stated that on my arrival, after the termination of more than twenty-five years of repression and interdict, the Christians, like the ancient Israelites in Egypt, not only still survived, but had multiplied, thus confounding and showing the impotency of the powers combined for their destruction.

I have further stated that I found comparatively organised and distinct Christian societies gathering in public assemblies at stated times for public worship, and possessing acknowledged leaders and teachers, whose authority and teaching in things spiritual was cheerfully recognised and followed. In the capital I found three such organised communities, besides smaller ones existing in the surrounding villages. I found also that they had advanced beyond this point, and had introduced the Scripturally appointed ordinances of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper,

on a foundation apparently so firm and true, and in a form so simple and Scriptural as to render, excepting in matters of detail or further development, any change unnecessary and undesirable.

The successive steps by which the native Christians had, under their peculiar circumstances, attained their present position, had been to me a subject of deeply interesting inquiry. From a number of narratives written at my request by intelligent men during the several phases of Christian development among them, most of whom fell in the last persecution, and from conversation with others still living, I have learned that their progress was not according to any previously arranged plan, but that step by step, as their circumstances changed, and new exigencies arose, they had changed their course of proceeding, and had thus reached their present position.

Amongst the many wise and kind directions which the former missionaries before being forced away had given to the Malagasy Christians, there were two which seem to have been the cardinal points by which, through the long night of darkness which succeeded, their course had been directed. By the first they had charged them to keep, in their faith and practice, close to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, that for life or for death, in joy or in sorrow they would be safe there—to fill their minds, and feed their hearts with that—and neither to receive, nor trust, nor follow anything however specious or plausible, which they did not find there. The second charge was not to isolate themselves, except when violence or danger forced them asunder; to remember that in all the great interests of their Christian life they were identical—individually to walk with God—to keep close to Christ; but for the nourishing of their Christian life, and the extending of their faith, to meet together as often as possible, even if but few in number.

One of the first effects of these counsels upon the minds of the Malagasy Christians when they found themselves left without human help, was to invest with a priceless value in their

estimation—the Holy Scriptures. Few were the copies or portions of these which they possessed, and nothing perhaps, except life itself, was more sedulously guarded. Under these circumstances it is refreshing to the mind to observe the effect of the second lesson—not to isolate themselves, even in their possession and enjoyment of the richest Christian treasures, but to share with others their spiritual aliment as they would divide their daily bread. This led to the subdivision of the Scriptures into separate parts, which we found had been practised, and to the written copies of portions of Scripture, which those who were able to write had made for others, and to the persevering efforts of many to commit large portions of the inspired volume to memory.

It was in seeking to carry out the instructions above stated that their Christian organisation had been produced. From the time when the missionaries left, they endeavoured to meet for worship on the Lord's day, and at other seasons, generally in numbers of from four or five to twelve or more. With prayer they associated the reading of the Scriptures. Where they had more than one copy, each individual read a verse, two or three reading out of one book, when copies were few. Then they endeavoured to ascertain the meaning of what they read; and at first, each gave his opinion in rotation on the verse or paragraph which had been read. In the course of time it became evident to all that some among them either discerned more readily, and by greater attention and thought were able to exhibit more clearly, or impress more strongly on the minds of their companions the meaning of what they read, than others; and before long, though they might continue to read in turn their separate verses, these individuals were requested to expound the passages of Scripture which they had read. After a time these men, generally men of intelligence and of irreproachable Christian character, especially if they had been distinguished by any extremity of trial, or stedfastness and constancy in suffering, came to be treated with respect, and to

be regarded as the leaders of the little companies with which they were associated. Some of these men had themselves been baptized, and afterwards admitted to the fellowship of the first churches organised by the early missionaries, comprising first the mission families, and receiving native converts. All felt that the command of their Divine Lord, and the practice of the Apostles enjoined their observance of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and the men who had been selected by their companions to preside at their meetings for reading and worship, were requested to undertake their administration. There does not appear to have been any special requisition from the society or congregation to these men, nor any special setting apart, or other public recognition of their undertaking these duties, excepting prayer referring to the arrangement. It seems to have been done by a sort of general understanding amongst themselves. This leadership soon came to include special visiting of the sick, and attending at funerals. These latter, when it was safe for them to be present, afforded seasons for usefulness, as in the large gatherings, heathens related to the family of the deceased, had thus an opportunity of hearing the Gospel, and witnessing the demeanour and practice of the Christians. The men thus selected were called Loha-fiangonama—heads of the congregation, and they discharged the duties of pastors.

Such was the native agency which we found in Madagascar, and which the great Head of the Church had used in association with Divine influence in sustaining the newly-implanted faith, as well as achieving its triumphs in Madagascar. We recognised the high mission of this native agency, thanked God on its behalf, and regarded it as our duty to give whatever advantage it could derive from our more ample information, and acquaintance with the Christian Churches in our own land, in reference to the promotion of the stability and extension of the kingdom of Christ in the world. We assumed no superiority over these Christian ministers, and regarded ourselves as possessing only such advantage above them as might arise from our

more enlarged acquaintance with the subject, and experience derived from connection with older communities. We did not suppose that we could add anything to the credentials which the Lord himself had given to these ministers, in the living epistles known and read of all men—Christian and heathen—gathered in such numbers around them.

Those with whom we associated were men of holy lives, well acquainted with those parts of Scripture which they possessed, especially with the teachings of the New Testament. We regarded them as already in fact pastors of the several churches with which they were connected. We did not propose to ordain them to the work of the ministry and the oversight of the churches, but were ready to associate ourselves with them in taking heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers.* That we should take part in this work appeared desirable to the best men amongst the Christians, who most urgently besought us to do so.

The state of Christianity in the capital, and the connection of Ankova with the surrounding provinces, appeared to indicate to us, that, for the present at least, we should concentrate our energies on the capital, endeavour to raise the Christian institutions there to such a state of solidity and efficiency, as would admit of their being left to native care alone, and then seek other fields. The increase of adherents to the Christians, which the cessation of persecution at that time favoured, and the new and seductive influences to which it exposed the Christians, rendered necessary some more compact and efficient organisation than that which already existed; and, after repeated conversation with the most intelligent men among the Christians, a concise statement of the leading principles on which their ecclesiastical organisation should be framed, and the regulations by which their proceedings should be directed, was prepared.

The plan which we submitted to them was concise, simple,

* Acts xx. 28.

Scriptural. We aimed at little beyond the setting forth of the first principles of Church organisation, as contained in the New Testament. It represented the promotion of the glory of Christ, and the salvation of souls as the chief objects of all purely Christian organisations. The former to be sought by the extension of the kingdom of Christ among men, the latter by progressive holiness, and growing conformity to Christ among his followers. It declared the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ to be the supreme power in the Christian Church, all other power properly belonging to this world, and terminating with the present life. It stated the will of Christ as revealed in the Holy Scriptures to be the law of the Church of Christ in every place. It enumerated the chief duties and responsibilities which the law of Christ enjoins on all who avow their allegiance to him. Among these it specified the meeting together for worship and instruction; the observing Christian ordinances. The education and Christian training of the young, and endeavouring to make their families nurseries for the church, cherishing loyalty to the sovereign and the government, and promoting peace and good-will among all classes of the people; the watching over each other in love to prevent any root of bitterness springing up, and the promoting of the holiness and uprightness of the church, before Christian and heathen; the providing for the support of the ministry, and other means of advancing their own spiritual improvement, as well as the extension of the kingdom of Christ among the heathen around them. Besides setting forth these duties, the plan enumerated the offices appointed by the authority of Christ in the church, and the ordinances instituted by him.

Towards the end of November, we called a meeting of thirty or forty of the chief men connected with the churches, and read the document to them, explaining such parts as they wished to have more fully stated, gave them the document, and desired them to communicate its contents to their respective churches, to ask the guiding influence of the Holy Spirit to

enable them to consider well its contents amongst themselves, and then to make us acquainted with the result.

After repeated conversations with different individuals, for the space of two months, they came to us on the 26th of January, 1863, and presented us with a written statement of their deliberate and cordial adoption of the plan we had given them, as the basis on which their churches should be formed, and their proceedings regulated. On only one of the regulations did they offer any remark, viz., on the obligation of the people to provide the means of temporal support for their ministers. They acknowledged that the principle was Scriptural and right, but doubted whether their means were such as to justify them undertaking the responsibility. Nevertheless, they were willing to do what they could.

In presenting this plan we claimed no authority from our fellow Christians in England, nor from a higher source, for any of its recommendations, than their accordance, in our opinion, with the teaching of the New Testament, and the usage of the churches from which we had been sent forth. And we wished them, if the regulations appeared to them not to accord with Scripture, nor to be suited to their circumstances, to state such opinions, that they might be reconsidered now, rather than left till some future period. In the course of the long time they had taken to consider the regulations, only two objections, and one addition, were offered, none of them feasible, though, considering the state of the people, very natural. The first was from some individuals of wealth, rank, and influence in one of the congregations. These persons did not see either the necessity or advantage of any regulations. Whatever instruction there was in the New Testament was accessible to them, and they could apply it, if occasion should require them to do so, and they thought it better to continue the existing course of procedure without any rules at all. These men went so far as to ask the king and the chief minister if they did not think it was undesirable to have any separate laws for the Christians.

Both these high authorities, without, I believe, any exchange of ideas on the subject, told them that if among the Christians every one went his own way, some would be very likely to go wrong; and that the missionaries knew best what was right and suitable for the Christians. The great body of the Christians connected with the congregation to which the men belonged, were of the same opinion as the king and the minister had been, so that the very proposal was beneficial rather than otherwise.

The other objection was mentioned by some of the preachers. They too did not see the necessity for any change in the mode of admitting to the communion, the appointing of preachers, or any other of their proceedings as ministers. These duties had been discharged according to the decisions of their own judgments, and they thought the affairs of each Christian society or congregation should be left in the hands of the preachers or overseers, or at most with them and the deacons; without any reference to the other members of their fellowship. The direction of their attention to the practice of the Apostles, and the means by which they had attained their own position, viz., the suffrages of their companions, seemed to satisfy them on this point.

The addition proposed came from a very timid party. It was that some of the high officers of the government should be associated with the overseers and preachers in directing the affairs of the Christians. This, it was said, would convince the government of the loyalty of the Christians, and secure its influence in the furtherance of their objects. A question or two as to the actual past, and the possible future, in reference to the government and the Christians, caused the proposers of this addition to regret that they had not remained silent.

The plan was afterwards submitted to the communicants in each of the three large congregations, and adopted as the rule by which their action as separate churches should be regulated. It was first used in the selection and appointment of church

officers, pastors, and deacons. We attended, not as officially connected with them, but as communicants from churches in England, appointed, and sent forth to preach the Gospel, gather churches, and discharge the duties of pastors in such churches, or in others previously gathered. We, therefore, stated that we were prepared to attempt to gather congregations in parts of the city in which there were none at present; and to preside over the churches which might be organised in these places; or, if they wished it, and it appeared in other respects preferable, to associate with the brethren whom they might invite to take the oversight of the existing Christian societies. The Divine blessing on the proceedings was then invoked, passages of Scripture were read, especially from the Epistles to Timothy and Titus; and two brethren from among the native preachers, and one of ourselves, were proposed to be the ministers of each of the existing churches. As some objection on the ground of unfitness was raised in reference to one of those proposed, the election for that church was postponed until a future meeting. Pastors, or, as they are termed in the Malagasy New Testament, *Mpitandrina* (overseers) were chosen to appoint and regulate the time and order of their worship, to preach the Gospel, to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, to preside at their meetings, and to discharge other pastoral duties.*

The peculiar state of the people, the exigencies of the time, and the order of public worship as then existing, appeared to require additional agency, and three or four men of irreproachable character, and of ability to preach, were appointed as preachers or evangelists, to co-operate with the overseers in the

* We considered that these men were filling the office, and discharging the duties of overseers, when we came among them; and this service was regarded rather as a formal public recognition of the relationship into which they now entered, and a specifying of its duties, than an appointment to the office. In the event of appointing any of the young men, who had not previously discharged the duties of the overseer, to that office, a public ordination service would be held on the occasion.

Sunday services,* the visiting of the sick, and the preaching of the Gospel in the villages. Deacons, or persons to attend to the secular affairs of the congregation, who might also be preachers or not, were also selected and appointed, the number in each church being regulated by the size of the congregation and other circumstances. They, as well as the preachers, were to assist the overseers in promoting the welfare of the congregation, and be subject to their direction in the discharge of their several duties. The churches were then declared to be fully organised Christian churches.

Such were the chief outlines of the plan on which these first native churches in Madagascar were formed, and in its chief features it has been, so far as I am aware, adopted by all that have been subsequently gathered from the surrounding heathen population. Hitherto the provision it supplies has been found adequate to the requirements of the several Christian societies; and if faithfully and carefully administered, it promises to be equally suited to the requirements of other churches in the existing state of society; while it will admit of any changes or additional regulations which the progress of native society may indicate. The course of events will in time to come probably require changes, but these may be made without violating the principles or rendering the plan so extended less suitable or efficient for the objects for which all ecclesiastical organisations are appropriately used.†

* Many circumstances concurred to render their public religious services on Sunday, and at other times, different from our own. The training and mental habits of the native preachers qualified them better to offer a few explanatory remarks, with a pointed application, than to deliver a long set discourse on a text or passage of Scripture. The mental training and habits of the people also rendered such preaching better understood, and more easily remembered by them. The habits of both preachers and hearers had been formed during a time of persecution, when they were never certain at the beginning of a meeting that they might not have to flee suddenly for safety before its close. Hence, at this time, three, and sometimes even four preachers, delivered in succession short expository discussions, or exhortations, with prayer and singing in the intervals, and this necessitated the appointment of more preachers than overseers.

† In reference to pastors or overseers, and preachers, the necessities of the

While the leaders of the Christians were arranging with us the rules for the regulation of the churches, I continued my usual services, sometimes encouraged in my visits to the king's house by the large numbers assembled, occasionally including the prime minister and other chief officers of the government, with members of their families, who, though not themselves Christians, expressed their approval of what they heard; at other times I was depressed in spirit by the absence of the results which I so ardently desired to see.

The king continued occasionally to attend our services, having gone on one Sunday to both the Protestant and Catholic churches, and so far he encouraged our efforts. In the month of January, he invited about sixty of the ministers and leading Christians to a breakfast at his house, after which he expressed his pleasure at the increase of the Christians, and assured his guests of his readiness to promote their great work. Some remarks were offered respecting the undesirableness of the Christians confining their efforts to the northern end of the capital, while the central and southern parts were destitute of Christian teaching, and those present were recommended to obtain sites, and erect places of worship in these populous parts which, excepting so far as the labours of one of the missionaries were concerned, were entirely destitute of the knowledge of Christianity.

The king had encouraged this proposal. Several of those present at the breakfast lent their assistance, and before long, two chapels, and subsequently a third, were erected, and congregations gathered.

About this time the king appeared to be increasingly interested in subjects connected with religion; he had also recently kept himself free from intoxication; but my hope in reference to him

churches in the capital and the surrounding villages impressed on our minds the desirableness of training a better qualified native ministry, and some of the brethren had already commenced classes for young men, in view of this object.

was often against hope. I find this statement in my journal under the date of January 15th, 1863. After noticing his attention, and his inquiries about what we had been reading, I remark—"The knowledge of the truth which he has acquired I hope will be applied by the Divine Spirit to change his heart; but the habits of sin in which he lives, though not much different to many around him, are fetters so strong and so firmly fixed that no inferior influence can effect his deliverance. I look upon him with affection and pity; for, except by the means of a deep, thorough, religious change of heart, I see no help for him. But nothing is impossible with God."

I also find similar expressions of the feelings of my own mind recorded after listening to the declarations made by the king of the pleasure he had experienced in attending public worship at some of the native churches. On the 5th of February a new temporary chapel was opened at Ambohipotsy, the southern end of the city, for the accommodation of the congregation which had been gathered by Mr. Toy's indefatigable efforts. The king was present, and when he afterwards told me that the widow of Ramboasalama and Mary, as well as others who were present wished to go again, I said I hoped he would encourage them to do so, for it might be the means of their becoming sincere Christians; and when he said that he was himself gratified, I observed that perhaps his pleasure arose from the expressions of loyalty which he received, the sight of the numbers assembled, and the general order of the worship, especially the singing, which was always gratifying to him.

At times when the king has said he thought he should become a Christian, I have replied, you know from the Bible that you must leave off many things before that can be the case, and I am afraid that you are not willing in your heart to do that. To remarks of this kind he seldom replied, but would remain silent, and I used to think he knew that I spoke to him from pain, not anger. Deep as was my disappointment that he seemed so little disposed to follow what the Bible taught, yet

when I considered the profligacy and vice by which his childhood and youth had been surrounded, the principles and examples by which his character had been moulded and formed, my feeling of pity for him was strong, for I could not help imagining, that, under other circumstances, with associates who would have implanted in his mind better principles, and surrounded his youth with less vicious examples, how different the result might have been; and I had sometimes thought that for him, without the experience of the influence of Christianity upon his moral nature, to have been better than he was, could scarcely have been expected.* His exalted position rendered everything connected with him more conspicuous than in others. His deviations from rectitude of life which we so much deplored were very leniently regarded by the great mass of heathen society. In apologising for him sometimes they said—"He is young yet;" while others, associated with him, were reported to be addicted to vices of which at that time I never heard him accused. On the other hand, his disinterested benevolence, his sense of justice, and his regard for human life never seemed to fail.

An instance in which this was shown, and which manifested also the insensate hate which idolatry fosters, occurred about this time, January, 1863. The daughter of a priest, or idol-keeper, at a village near Ambohimanambola, to the east of the capital, became a Christian, and as she would not refrain from praying to the true God, her father killed her with his own hand. Her husband, fearing for his own life if he travelled alone, per-

* It was stated that though well behaved during public worship, Radama sometimes ridiculed among his companions the language, manner, or statements of the preacher. Considering his company it was not surprising that amidst the banter and jest of their conviviality, it should sometimes be so. The attention he had paid, the earnestness with which he had afterwards urged his inquiries on the subjects presented, and the declarations of some who were his frequent, if not constant companions, did not allow me to think it was always so, or to constitute a reason why I should discontinue my efforts for his religious advantage.

suaded some of the people to come with him to complain to the king, who, when he heard the man's account, was deeply affected. He instantly sent orders for the murderer to be brought to the capital for trial, that if found guilty he might be put in irons for life, and a fine imposed on the village for having allowed the crime to be perpetrated there. I have seldom seen the king more excited than when he told me of this barbarous murder; and though I considered it a great blessing for the people that he neither countenanced nor connived at the cruelties to which heathenism might urge its votaries, I was somewhat uneasy at the manner in which one of the protectors of the idols had wreaked vengeance upon his own child for forsaking them. There had not been wanting instances of idol-keepers becoming Christians. Some of the early martyrs had been such, and the respected leader of the Christians at Ambohimanga was the son of the keeper of the idol in that renowned place, and he had on account of his faith refused the office when his father died; but he dwelt there in safety. I could not be surprised to hear that the guardians and votaries of the idols were irritated at the increase of the Christians, but this was the first symptom of danger to the community, from their blind and vindictive fanaticism.

CHAPTER X.

Damage by the floods—Description of the buildings of the capital—Signs of the progress of Christianity—Uneasiness among the heathen—Report of a new kind of sickness—Rumours of visions and voices from the unseen world—King's inquiries about a future state—The queen's visit to Ambohimanga—Homage paid on the road to anything belonging to the sovereign—Grant of title deeds for the memorial churches—Meetings with the sick dancers—Opening of a new place of worship—The queen's reception and banquet on returning from Ambohimanga—The banquet of welcome—Renewed rumours of messages from the spirit world against praying—The idol carried in procession—Menaced death from the idol keeper—Death warnings laid at my door.

THE rainy season which commenced in November did not terminate until March, and was characterised this year by a succession of storms, which inflicted great loss, and threatened much misery to many families. The overflowing of the stream on the west of the plain, and the breaking of the banks of the canal which supplied water for irrigation to a large part of the cultivated ground, not only inundated the fields, but in consequence of the violence of the flood swept away and destroyed large quantities of unripe grain. The poorer families who were only able to cultivate rice enough for food from one season to another, looked forward to much suffering before another crop could repair the loss they had sustained. There was also much present distress from houses unroofed and demolished, the walls being undermined and fallen, and having in many instances carried down large portions of the declivities on the edges of which they had been built.

Sometimes, on going out after having been a prisoner for three or four days together, I was struck by evidence of the

violence of the storms, and the absence of all means of security against the injuries they produced. Drainage there was none. The only attempt at anything of the kind was a little to the north of Andohalo, where there was a broad gutter for a yard or two, and then a drain covered with flat stones which extended across the road, and discharged a large body of water down the western side of the mountain. The highways, and narrow, intricate, angular, or crooked byways, were the surface drains for the city. If the owners of the enclosures round the houses could make an outlet for the water, into the narrow path, or broader way, that was all they ever thought of doing.

The sides of the mountain on which Antananarivo stands are comparatively steep, and there is but very little level land in the whole city. The crest of the hill immediately above my own house is not more than six or seven yards across. The palace and the houses of a number of the chief nobles range along the highest part of the mountain, and the courts, or yards around them, are in part artificially constructed. The houses below these, are generally built on terraces, often made by digging down the mountain on one side of the terrace, and building up on the other. The lower sides of these terraces are built up with the granite of the mountain, and if there is soil at the back, it is necessary to build that up some feet high, in order to prevent its slipping down when loosened by the rain.

Some part of the main road which is a gradual descent from the palace to Andohalo, runs along below the houses of several of the nobles, and chief officers. From the eastern side of the road a succession of narrow terraces walled up in front rise to the height of twenty or thirty feet. The sites on which the houses stand on the descent on both sides of the mountain are terraces walled up on the side towards the road and the lower ground, which gives to the whole of this part of the city a remarkable appearance, somewhat resembling a fortified place. More than one English officer has remarked that certain parts of Antananarivo reminded him of Malta, and at a first glance

there is some resemblance, but with this great difference, that the walls of Malta are constructed on scientific principles, and the carefully worked stones are laid in durable cement; while the terrace walls of Antananarivo are only chipped with a hammer so as to approximate to a joint, and cemented with common earth and clay, or they are mere dry walls. The consequence is that the great body of water washing down the main road like a flood, not only undermines the walls on either side, but also penetrates the earth of the court yards, and oozes through the walls of the terraces, which bulge out, and give way, often filling up the road with earth and stone, stopping traffic, and damming up the water, which, in finding or making a new channel, not unfrequently causes great loss and danger.

Some portion of the main road between the palace and Andohalo is paved with undressed stones of irregular sizes, and I have often been astonished to see the large stones, and the quantity of earth carried away by one flood; sometimes where a stone had been dislodged, a precipitous descent of three or four feet in depth has been left, often reaching nearly across the road. In some parts of the road from Analakely and Amparibe, where the soil appears to be a kind of red earth, mixed with soft gritty sand, I have seen a chasm washed in one single season out of the middle of the road four or five feet in width, narrowing like a wedge to the bottom which has been six or eight feet below the surface.

If it is possible to pass along the road it is seldom mended until the end of the rainy season, when the owners of houses repair the part immediately in front of their own premises, and a number of soldiers are sent to fill up the holes, and replace any stones that may have been washed away; but as this is government service, followed by no pay, it is done in the most superficial manner. The hollows even in the paved parts of the road are often filled up with green sods, which last only a very short time, and make the road as full of holes as ever after the next heavy rain. Scavengers are unknown, and ashes, and

Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis. House of the Queen's Mother. Late Ramboasalama's Palace. Page 249.

THE ROYAL PALACE AND HOUSES OF THE NOBLES, ANTANANARIVO.

earth, and rubbish of every kind are thrown out on the high road, and left until blown or washed away, or trodden down by the feet of those who pass along.

Besides the palace and dwellings of the chief officers of the government which stretch along the highest ground from north to south, the houses in the upper part of the centre of the city are on the whole superior to those of other parts. The walls, which consist of upright planks, are many of them eighteen feet high, with steep roof, and flat gable ends, having the door always on the western side. Oval houses, with flatter roofs, and sometimes a verandah, have been recently introduced. The palaces, and some of the dwellings of the nobles, are roofed with painted wooden or earthern tiles, all of native manufacture; but the houses in general are covered with a durable rush thatching. In all the large steep-roofed houses, two long rafters tapering to a point are fixed outside the thatch at each end, and crossing each other at the top extend at the upper ends five or six feet beyond the ridge. At the upper end of each rafter a small bird, neatly carved in wood, is fixed by a short wire. These singular projections above the ridge of the roof are called horns, and are peculiar to the Hovas, if not to the division in which the capital stands: and the birds are heraldic, as they represent the crest of at least that clan of the Hovas. Any house belonging to the government in a distant part of the island is also thus distinguished.

The walls of some of the inferior houses are composed of bamboo canes, or a large species of rush. None are allowed to be built of brick, stone, or clay. The houses are generally enclosed within as much space as can be secured, by wooden palisades, or walls of clay or stone; a small piece of clear ground being very valuable for drying rice and other purposes. A few bananas, or roots of sugar-cane, are sometimes planted within these enclosures, and trees are highly prized for the shade they afford.*

* In a series of sketches made by Lieut. Oliver, R.A., who accompanied the

The interior arrangements of the houses vary with the circumstances of their owners. The small dwellings of the poor have little more than roof, and walls, and a few stones fixed in the ground for a fire-place, with a piece of matting on the sleeping place. In the houses of the class above these, the walls are plastered, or lined with matting. The sleeping place is either screened off from the large space, or a separate room is provided. A good bedstead, with bedding, trunks, or boxes, and a chair or two, with a table, will also be found in many rooms of this class.

The houses of the officers, and others well to do, are all better furnished; and though their meals may be sometimes taken on the floor, plates and dishes, glasses and superior cooking utensils will be found. Bedsteads, chairs, tables, looking-glasses, crockery-ware, and sometimes a clock will be comprised in the furniture, and muslin curtains will be seen at some of the windows. The kitchen is generally in a separate building, though sometimes in the upper story.

The large palace is not ordinarily a residence, but is used on all great state occasions. It is lighted at night by large glass chandeliers, and ornamented with rather coarse native painting. The Silver Palace, the residence of Radama when prince, and the palace of the queen when princess, are well finished, and beautifully furnished. The walls are covered with landscape-figured paper. The floors are of differently coloured inlaid wood. The furniture consists of carved tables, sofas and chairs with damask seats, well made by native workmen, who were taught to work in wood by M. Le Gros and Mr. Cameron. The walls are hung with pictures, Swiss and German; while jars and vases of porcelain or glass, of foreign workmanship, and

English Embassy to Antananarivo on the occasion of the coronation of Radama II., there is a very good view of this, as well as several other parts of the capital, and of some of the scenes and places on the route. These sketches were lithographed and published by Messrs. Day and Son, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

stands of artificial flowers, and very elegant vessels, vases, and cups in solid silver, or filagree work in silver, of native workmanship, ornament the tables and different parts of the room, all creditable to the taste of the owners, and to the skill of the workmen.

The gradual cessation of the rains enabled me to resume my former duties at Ambohimitsimbina, where I read daily with the king, who also constantly attended public worship on the Sundays; and though my labours there seemed less productive of good than at some other places, yet, notwithstanding that some of my auditors were heathen, and others made no pretension to being Christians, the improved attention of some, and the inquiries afterwards made by others at my own house, did not allow me to remain altogether destitute of encouragement even there. In other parts, although there was cause for anxiety, there was much to exhilarate and cheer. My companions were becoming increasingly earnest and efficient in their work. The new congregation gathered by Mr. Toy in the south, was prospering. The large church near the eastern gate of the city, was nearly finished, the older congregations were improving, and the influence of the Christians becoming visible among the people.

Every Sunday I passed two of the daily markets in different directions on my way to morning and afternoon worship. At first no difference was perceptible between Sundays and other days. The same bustle and hum of noise prevailed on all alike. But in 1863 the change became every month more marked. First, fewer buyers resorted to the market, and those consisted of servants or strangers. Then, some kinds of articles, such as cloths and garments, were not brought on Sunday, and, finally, there was little done in the market besides the purchase of a smaller supply of meat, poultry, fish, fruit, and vegetables, or other perishable articles.

But notwithstanding this evidence of the influence which Christianity was exercising over those without, there appeared

about this time less religious earnestness, and more readiness to be satisfied with things as they were, than we desired. It was rather as if the perfect liberty enjoyed by the Christians diminished their earnestness to bring others into the Christian fold. On the other hand, the fact that the king afforded no encouragement to the idols or their keepers, but rather, as it was thought, encouraged the Christians, whose places of worship were rising in different directions, and who continued to increase—these facts made the votaries of the idols restless and irritated at the continued diminution of their influence amongst the people. They had expected that the desertion of the idols which had attended the *éclat* of Radama's accession would be but temporary, and that as that subsided, the former votaries of Ramahavaly and the others would return. But they found that whether they joined the Christians or not, the people still kept aloof from the idols, and they were consequently disappointed and enraged. Some threatened the people with the vengeance of the idols, and even asserted that the destruction of the rice by the floods was caused by their displeasure. This state of feeling neither surprised nor alarmed us, but it made us feel the need of the utmost circumspection in our proceedings.

It was also somewhere about this time that the prime minister, in a conversation which I had with him about some land for a church, expressed his disapprobation of the king's associating so much with young men, and spending his time in amusement, to the neglect of graver duties. I told him I thought Radama's habits were improving, and that, excepting on one occasion, when a foreigner from Tamatave had dined with him, he had for a long time past, avoided intoxication. He then expressed his disapproval of one of the appointments to office which the king had made, and I said the king had never mentioned the subject to me, but that I had understood the appointment was only nominal. The prime minister said, "So much the better." When I heard of this appoint-

ment, I said to the officer who told me, that the king must have taken leave of his senses. I heard also that Mary had been weeping all day on account of the appointment by the king.

When I went to the king I found him greatly excited by some reports of a new kind of sickness which had made its appearance in some of the villages at a distance from the capital. These reports had been coming in from different parts for two or three days past. The people, he said, had seen strange sights in the air, and heard unearthly sounds. The spirits of his ancestors had been seen in the heavens, and were coming to Antananarivo, and some great events were about to occur, but what, he did not know. He did not believe, he said, in ghosts; but as the reports came from such a number of persons—nearly forty—and continued for three days, he did not know what to think of it. "Was it a sign," he asked, "of the end of the world?" I said I did not think it was, for the Gospel was to be preached to all nations before the end should come, and there were many nations to whom it was not preached yet. I added, that considering the great ignorance and the superstitious ideas of many of the people, he must not be surprised at reports of such visions, which only existed in the imaginations of those who reported them; that if his ancestors were coming we should soon see them, and if they did not come, we should know it was only delusion. The king then said that those who saw these visions were afflicted with some intermittent sort of disease. It seemed to me a sort of hysteria, and I said, perhaps the disease caused the people to imagine the things which they thought they saw, and that if the sickness came to Antananarivo, Doctor Davidson would tell us all about it.

Our conversation continued until after sunset, when the king ordered lights to be brought, and seemed unwilling that I should leave him. When at last I rose to depart, he asked me to stay and dine with him, but this I declined. Two of the

men who had brought the strange reports were present during the whole time. I questioned them about the sickness. They said it was not continuous, but intermittent. It came on towards evening. Those affected by it were then feverish, and it was only while they were ill that they saw the visions. I asked what the things they saw were like. They said like men. How did the sick persons know they were the king's ancestors? This they could not tell. These men expressed their own firm belief in the reality of the visions, and seemed to regard them as the cause rather than the effect of the disease. When I left I advised the king to be careful of his own health, that he might be the better prepared to resist its effects should the disease make its appearance in the capital.

In the course of our conversation after reading on the following day, the king inquired with an interest which seemed to show that he had been thinking on the subject, what was the difference between the ability to reason, calculate, invent, and imagine in man, and the instinct of animals, who did not seem to think or reason? I answered his inquiry as well and as briefly as I could. He then asked whether we should have the same thoughts and powers of mind in a future state, as in this. I said we should probably have memories of the present life, and mental associations in connection therewith, adducing the parable of the rich man and Lazarus as evidence of this, but that all there would be spiritual, and that the bodies, with which whatever mental faculties we might possess, would be associated, would have in them nothing material like our present bodies, for they would be spiritual bodies.

At this time two Catholic priests came in, and as they had business with Radama, I took my leave.

Three days after this, the king commenced a very earnest conversation respecting the evil spirit troubling Saul after the Lord had forsaken him. I could only say that God was sometimes represented as actually doing what he allowed to result from natural causes, and that Saul's proceedings might arise

from jealousy or madness or other disease of mind, or might be of Divine ordering as was Saul's selection and endowment for the kingly office.

The earnestness of these inquiries was no doubt occasioned in part by the continued appearance, as it was supposed, of strange sights to those who were affected by the sickness already mentioned; for in the minds of most of the people superstition more or less still lingers, and the heathen surrender themselves wholly to it.* In the course of the same conversation the king said that the Romanist priests had lately told him that God would before long make manifest to all the people which was the true religion—the Catholic or the Protestant, by the exercise of his power in casting out devils by the hands of the priests, for he had given them power to do that. I replied that God alone could expel evil spirits; and I referred to the attempt of the seven sons of Sceva, as recorded in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, to show that it had sometimes been dangerous even to attempt it. The king's officers who were present appeared to be much impressed by the narrative. The king had at times manifested more superstitious feeling, especially in connection with his ancestors, than I had expected, and he was now more excited than I liked to see.

The time for holding the annual bathing festival of the new year had now arrived, but no orders were issued for its celebration, and I supposed that the king did not intend to observe it, perhaps on account of the superstitious ceremonies connected with some parts of it. At this season also persons were accustomed to visit, in mourning attire, the graves of their relations, as well as to send presents to their friends, and in a letter from the commandant and other friends at Tamatave, I received a few pieces of silver, with the salutation Jaka

* Besides seeing visions and hearing voices, those affected could not, it was said, be kept quiet, or retained in the house, but stretched out their limbs involuntarily, ran, or jumped, or danced, wherever they went.

diajaka tokoa, as an expression of their remembrance and goodwill at the season which they designated Asaramanitra, the name of the annual festival.

Early on the morning of the 17th of March the queen, accompanied by several of the high officers, and a number of female attendants of rank, set out for Ambohimanga, the burial-place of the late queen, to visit the tombs of her ancestors. The queen did not proceed along the main road, but by a route more to the eastward; the time of the journey, as well as the precise route, even in the minutest particulars, were said to have been arranged by the diviners.

Amongst the articles required during the queen's sojourn at this sacred place was a small box containing an idol, probably one belonging to her family. A herald preceded the bearers, shouting to the people in the road to turn aside and leave the way clear, or, if they remained in sight to take off their hats while the box was passing. The same custom, so far as turning out of the way, and standing by the side of the road is concerned, is observed when the sovereign, or anything belonging to the sovereign, passes. Whether this custom arises from the opinion that the sacredness belonging to the idols attaches to the person of the sovereign and extends to whatever is connected with them, or from the rule that everything must give place to the king, I am not able to say; perhaps it is from a union of both. The custom itself proves at times rather inconvenient to foreigners, whatever it may be to the Malagasy themselves. Game, fish, fruit, rice, vegetables, even a small basket of salad, or barrels suspended on a pole and carried along by the water-carriers, and all packages designed for the sovereign, are preceded by men who with a particular call, require every person to remove out of the way, and stand on one side, until the bearers have passed. A number of cows with their calves, some of them very fine animals, are driven along the main road to the suburbs in the north every morning, and return to the yard of the palace in the evening. A man walks before them

with a stick requiring every one to turn aside and stop until the cattle have passed, and as they move along very slowly, it is sometimes rather trying to parties in a hurry. There was at one time an order, when many visitors were at the capital, that foreigners were not to be stopped, and if at any time I chose to alight and walk, I might go on, but my bearers never passed either the king's cattle, or any articles belonging to him, except where we could make a slight deviation from the road.

The king had one or two favourite horses, and they were the only exceptions to this homage, though it was paid to earthen pans and water jars when carried along the streets. Perhaps the custom was introduced, and its observance enjoined, before the first horses were sent by the English as a present to the king, and therefore, being a modern introduction, this noble animal is not included in the ancient customs. I used sometimes to joke with the drivers or talk with them about their cattle, and tell them, that though I wanted to get on, it was right to obey orders; and we were always good friends, although the mornings and evenings being the times when I was generally out, we met sometimes more than once in the day.

Having learned by letters from home that the friends in England had responded generously to the appeal for aid to build the memorial churches, that the directors of the London Missionary Society had reason to expect the sum required for their erection would be furnished, I applied for written titles to the sites on which it was proposed to build them. The king, with the consent of his ministers, having duly executed these in the required form, I lost no time in fixing, in company with some of the missionaries, the boundaries of the land with the government officers, and arranging with the occupants for payment of the value of any buildings or fences they might have constructed on the ground. I also engaged men experienced in the construction of stone buildings to collect stones for the

foundation and commencement of the walls of at least one of the churches.

The Christians engaged to help, and undertook to level the ground. This was accomplished at Ambohipotsy towards the end of March; and as we proposed to begin at Ambatonakanga, where a church seemed to be most needed, I was delighted, on going down to the place early one morning in the first week in April, to find almost the entire congregation employed; the masters, with their slaves, digging down the hillocks and making the ground level, and the women and children carrying away the earth, stones, and rubbish in baskets on their heads. The preachers were superintending, and encouraging them, and some were singing for joy. I gave them a piece of silver to send to the market and buy cooked manioc for the workmen when they should rest towards the middle of the day. We rejoiced to see them all so willing to assist, but we felt that the work must be accomplished by men engaged and paid for their labour. The obtaining of lime appeared to be the chief difficulty in accomplishing this work, and many specimens of stone were brought to me from different parts of the country, but none that were suitable.

It was while I was engaged with one of the missionaries, the builders, the government officer, and the occupants of the land on the high ground of Faravohitra, early in the morning, that a young girl, apparently about eighteen or twenty years of age, and very decently dressed, came dancing along the road up the hill, attended by one or two companions. My friends said that she was one of those afflicted with the dancing sickness, and did not know what she did. As she danced along, first on one side, and then, crossing over, danced a short distance on the other, and our measuring line was near the path, I met her as she approached the ground, and, pointing to the path, said she had better proceed along that, as there were loose stones on the side where I was standing. She made no answer, and appeared to take no notice, but I did not see anything in her eyes or her

countenance indicating disease. As I was going to another part of the ground, I observed that this dancing girl was about to pull up one of the sticks which we had fixed as marks or boundaries. I therefore stopped and looked steadily at her, and when I set off as if about to run towards the place, she turned round and ran back with her companions. I observed to the men who were with me that I did not think the girl was ill, and that she certainly knew what she was about.

On the following Sunday afternoon, when the public worship was over, and I was leaving the courtyard of the king's house, a wild-looking girl was dancing before the sentries who stood with crossed bayonets outside the open gateway. She approached as I came near, and when the sentries drew back their muskets to let me pass out, she suddenly stepped forward, seized my arm, passed close to me until she got within the bayonets, and then sprang down the steps into the courtyard; and when I turned round I saw her dancing towards the house where I had just left the king and his officers. The soldiers were afraid they should get into trouble, for they had received orders not to admit any of the dancers.

This girl was the first I had seen about the precincts of the king's house. On two other occasions I was somewhat troubled with them, first when I was taking a photograph of the site of the martyrs' death at Ambohipotsy. I had fixed my camera, and was engaged in the tent, when my servant, whom I had left to watch, called out that a sick dancer was coming. She was a decently-dressed young woman, her hair not at all dishevelled. She wore a light-blue scarf over her shoulders, the ends of which she waved sometimes gracefully as she danced, not hurriedly, but lightly, and deliberately along, more like a damsel dancing for pleasure, than the unconscious subject of disease. I stood by my tent, and told my servant to hold the camera-stand. She danced once or twice round the camera, coming nearer each time, and as she put out her hand as if to take

hold of it, I hastened towards it, when she danced away on the other side, and went dancing down the hill.

On another occasion, when I was taking a view of Ambatonakanga, the site of the first Christian church in Madagascar, with my camera on one side of the main road, a crowd soon gathered round me, and one of the dancing women came along attended and followed by a number of persons. She looked fatigued and excited; and when she reached the place, made as if she would have seized the camera as I stood before it. I took hold of her arm, and leading her gently to the middle of the road, I said to the crowd, "Has this poor woman no friends?" A woman said, "I am her mother," and a man called out, "I am her brother." I expostulated with them for letting her go about in that manner, and urged them to take her home, to supply her with food and drink, and make her comfortable, in some place where she could lie down and be quiet; adding that if they would go with me I would give them some medicine that would perhaps help her to obtain rest; or I would give them a paper to take to Dr. Davidson, whose house was nearer than mine. They made no reply to either of my proposals, but led the poor woman away from the crowd, and I hoped to their home.

I still continued to read with the king daily, and sometimes found him a good deal excited about the running, or dancing sickness, as it was called; but at other times he was very attentive to what I said, and conversed with earnestness on other subjects. I had not yet seen any of the afflicted persons in his house, though they appeared to be coming into the city daily, in increasing numbers. None of the people resident in the capital had yet been affected in this extraordinary manner, though it was said that the disease continued to make its appearance in fresh places amongst the villages.

Towards the middle of April the Christians on the eastern side of the city had finished their large chapel, situated outside the eastern gate, and though one hundred feet long and pro-

portionally wide, it was well filled on the day of opening. The king and a large number of officers attended on this occasion, the chapel being near the residence of many of them, and surrounded by a large population far from any place of worship. The king, several of his officers, and some of the missionaries dined with me after the opening service, and we felt much encouraged by the increased means of usefulness thus secured. It was greatly needed, and is the only place of the kind on the eastern side of the capital. The ground, which is in a suitable locality near the great eastern road, was given by one of the people, and with a little assistance from the missionaries, a few of the nobles, and their fellow Christians, it had been built by the people themselves. One of the ministers, one of the deacons, and about thirty of the people came from Ambatonakanga to help to form the nucleus of a church and congregation, and on the first communion Sunday fifty-eight persons united in partaking of the Lord's Supper in the newly-erected house of worship, in which, on the same occasion, ten adults were baptized. A school was subsequently opened for the children in the neighbourhood. A stronger church has recently been erected on the same spot, and altogether the progress of the Gospel here is peculiarly encouraging.

Soon after the opening of the new church, the queen and her suite returned in state from her visit to Ambohimanga. The day was remarkably fine, and the pageant more native, and less foreign, than any I had witnessed. The king had invited us to the reception of her majesty, and to the banquet which was provided for her welcome. About noon I went to the palace, where I read with the king. Afterwards, when the firing of the cannon, the music of the bands, and the shouting of the people announced the approach of the queen, we followed the king into the large front court, to await the arrival of the cortége.

The queen rode with a little child, her adopted daughter, in a cool and roomy Indian palanquin with painted panels, the

ladies of her court and the officers and judges in open native palanquins, the ladies with parasols or umbrellas of scarlet, purple, pink, and other attractive colours. When the queen's bearers halted the king advanced, and with graceful ease greeted her majesty, and assisted her to leave her palanquin. After advancing a few steps the queen stopped, her ladies in attendance gathered on each side, while the judges and other high officers, some in long scarlet coats, stood behind.

Her majesty wore a yellow silk dress, a light scarf, and a gold ornament on her head, around which was a light wreath of a beautiful bright-leaved plant, with a few yellow flowers. All the ladies-in-waiting also wore light and tastefully-woven wreaths of foliage and flowers. The officers and nobles had either bouquets of flowers or wreaths around their hats. All the attendants, and even the bearers who thronged the court behind, had also either large wreaths of the same kind, or heaths, creepers, or other green and flowering plants, around their heads or their necks. The effect was novel and pleasing, although some of the flowers and buds were drooping in the sun. It seemed as if the entire company were returning from some sylvan fête.

The king, splendidly dressed, stood surrounded by his officers and his guests two or three yards in front of the queen. After remaining silent a few seconds, her majesty commenced, in a gentle and agreeable voice, and with much dignity and ease, an address to Radama, designating him her lord, her sovereign, and, I thought, using a still higher appellation, tendering to him her duty, homage, and affection, reciting his ancestry, his position by hereditary descent, and tendering her hasina, a silver dollar, with the salutation or wish that he might live many years.

The king in return very gracefully himself took the hasina from her majesty's hand, bowed his acknowledgment of the homage rendered, most cordially greeted her return, called her his sovereign or royal lady, recited her descent, and reciprocated

the salutation or wish for her happiness and length of days. The scene was new and most interesting to me. I was very near them both. There was no acting, nothing forced or unnatural on either side. The queen, who habitually spoke with ease and with self-command, invariably acquitted herself well and never more so than on this occasion, and the king was cheerful, easy, and yet dignified. As soon as he had ceased speaking the band began to play the national air, the queen, accompanied by her ladies, entered the palace, and the king and his officers retired.

At three o'clock the guests assembled to participate in the banquet of welcome to the queen, which was held in the large hall of the great palace. It was arranged in a style of nearly equal magnificence with that of the coronation, though for a smaller number. The king presided, the queen sat next him on one hand, and the highest lady of the royal family on the other. The commander-in-chief, the chief judge, and the English and French consuls, with the ladies who had attended the queen, including Mary, were all seated at the cross table at the upper end of the hall.

The banquet itself was sumptuous, and the conversation agreeable, although, in consequence of the absence of foreign visitors, and also of those causes of excitement and hilarity which were connected with the great event of the coronation, there was less vivacity amongst the guests than on that occasion. The king and queen conversed together, I thought, more than usual, and with much cheerfulness, as if glad to meet after the weeks during which her majesty had been absent.

Most of the ladies still wore some of the flowers with which they were decorated on their arrival. These were objects of interest to me, and I was anxious to learn from my companions on either hand the names, habits, and localities of some of the flowers which they themselves or others wore. There were some nice small-flowered Bauhinias, one or two creepers, but most of them seemed to be from shrubby, hard-wooded plants.

One or two kinds were pleasantly fragrant, but the greater number appeared to have been selected for the colour of the flowers. More than one of the ladies gave me, before we separated, the flowers which they wore; I obtained others from some of the attendants, and hoped, before I left Madagascar, to obtain either seeds or plants of the same, as Ambohimanga is celebrated by the native bards for its wood-covered sides, and I had seen many flowers in the adjacent country.

Though there was no lack of wine on this occasion, I noticed with pleasure that there was not much drunk. After the usual loyal toasts had been honoured, coffee was served, and a little before sunset we left the palace. There was no dancing in the evening, many perhaps having had sufficient exercise during the morning's journey.

Two or three days after this I told the king that the Christians had been clearing and levelling the ground so that we might determine the exact position in which two of the churches should be placed. I told him also that I wished to prepare stone, and gather other materials in readiness for beginning as soon as I should hear whether Mr. Cameron, to whom I had written, would come to help us, and I asked if he could supply me with some gunpowder for blasting the rock with, until I could obtain it from Tamatave, or Mauritius, when I would return it in kind. He said he would send word to the prime minister to let me have some, as the magazine was near his dwelling, and in charge of some of his people. He afterwards informed me that fresh tidings had been brought from some of the villages to the north, stating that his ancestors were coming to tell him what was to be done for the good of the country, that they were coming in great numbers with pomp and power, with cannons, muskets, and swords, &c.

I observed, "Do they say so?" "Yes," said the king, "they are certainly coming so." I then said, "How do you think they got the cannon? there are none where they are, and you know Andrianampoinimerina and your most renowned an-

cestors were all dead before any cannons were brought here, so they could not have taken them with them."

I watched the king's countenance, and saw his lip curl with that former smile which he used to wear when anything like delusion presented itself, but he turned away in silence, and then began to talk about something else.

In my earlier conversations with the king about this not altogether new but strange sickness, which, so far as the reports might be credited, seemed to be a kind of intermittent disorder with periods of delirium, or a species of hysteria readily infectious, I had told him that the time of the year being the end of the rainy season, it was not at all remarkable that it should occur in Madagascar, and that, like other epidemics, it would cease; and certainly after two or three weeks we saw very few cases, and heard it less talked about, as it had nearly ceased. But some time in the month of April reports came of its reappearance in other parts, and with increased violence. Numbers, said to be paid to come, began to find their way into the city, singly or in small parties of three or four persons, and not always young as at first. These, running or dancing, and sometimes singing, were accompanied by friends or relatives, some carrying bottles of water, as those who were afflicted generally complained of thirst, others clapping their hands and singing or drumming, or making rough music by beating two hollow pieces of wood against each other.

Reports of visions seen and voices heard were again brought, and evidently obtained a sort of credence from the king, though still regarded as originating to some extent in fanaticism, or in the cunning of those who worked upon the ignorance and superstition of the people.

The rumours of the voices and visions now found their way to the king, and seemed to be gaining increasing influence over him. It was stated that his mother, the late queen, had appeared to some of these persons, and had said that she was disturbed and offended by the increase of the praying in

Imerina, which she did not allow, and also at the swine being permitted to pollute the city. The bearers of the reports also carried presents to the king, which they said they had been directed by the spirits of his ancestors to bring. I sometimes found these people in his courtyard, but never saw them dancing there. When he spoke to me on the subject, I replied more seriously than I had done at first. I said the sickness, so far as it was real, presented nothing unaccountable, and the pretended revelations were, I thought, the effects of disease, or the inventions of those who reported them. I said it was strange, if the sickness was sent on account of praying, and was to increase until the praying should be stopped, that it was sent only to those who never prayed, and that as those who prayed had entirely escaped, it was rather an encouragement to pray than otherwise. It was not likely that those who had not grieved the spirits of his ancestors should be made to suffer for those who had, and I did not think there was any foundation for the reports that were brought. I asked him particularly one day how he thought it happened, that though there were Christians where the sickness appeared, no Christian had been affected with the disease, that every one who suffered was a heathen? He said he did not know, but the persons who came to him certainly believed that they had seen the visions, and heard the words they delivered. He sometimes said he could not understand it, at other times he said he thought some of it must be true. Still he would read the Bible with me, and listen attentively to my remarks on what we read, often to the great questions affecting the soul and its salvation.

The afflicted, as they were called, now began to manifest great aversion to pigs, and their companions drove them away. Then they seemed to be troubled at the sight of any covering on the heads of persons in the street as they passed along, and they or their friends motioned to those whom they met to take their hats off, and if they did not, the diseased appeared to be greatly agitated, and would themselves proceed to take the

hat off the head of the wearer, so that disturbances in the streets became imminent. An appeal by the party promoting the movement was then made to the king, who issued an order that all persons meeting any of the afflicted should take off their hats, if required, under penalty of a fine on refusal.

On hearing of this order I went to the king, in company with another missionary, to ask if it was true, and if it applied to foreigners. He said every one was at liberty to take their hats off if they chose, but the order did not apply to us. I begged that he would kindly cause that to be made known, or we might get into trouble. We never took off our hats, and were never molested; but the order was exceedingly annoying to the Christian officers, and I have more than once been with them when they have turned into a side path, or a courtyard, rather than meet one of these vagrant dancers.

I have no doubt that some of the poor creatures whom I occasionally saw lying on the rocks in the sun, or on a plot of grass by the roadside, or met toiling and perspiring along the road, evidently ready to sink from exhaustion, were really ill; and I always spoke kindly to them, offering them water to drink if I could get it, or some medicine; but I always remonstrated with their relatives or friends for not keeping them at home and attending to their wants, or seeking remedies for their sickness. I looked upon them chiefly as the deluded victims of evil men. These poor creatures used to beg ripe sugar-canes, and carry them every day and lay them on the sacred stone in Imahamasina, the great parade ground, as offerings to the spirits, or the idols, and used to add to the offerings small pieces of money. I have often seen them as I passed along the road under the trees at the end of the row of cannons,* dancing round the stone after they had laid their offerings upon it. One or more of the keepers of the idols was always there to see that no one appropriated these offerings,

* See Frontispiece.

and when the votaries had departed, two or three of these guardians of the idols came every evening to the sacred stone, gathered the offerings of sugar-cane and money which had been deposited during the day, and divided it amongst themselves.

Finding that the numbers who came into the capital, and the reports of the probable increase of the malady, were producing some effect upon the king's mind, the keepers of the idols had one of the large national idols carried in procession through the city as a means, they said, of averting the threatened visitation; they also laid charmed medicine along the boundaries of the city, to keep away the sickness. Meanwhile the mind of the king appeared to succumb to the devices of the idol-keepers. By some means or other his son, a boy about ten years of age, was wrought upon so as to lie in bed with supposed fever, then to get up and run to the southern end of the mountain and back, and afterwards to declare that he had heard voices from the spirit-world, and that the spirit of the renowned ancestor of the king had, through his son, sent his veloma or salutation to him, and I understood that the king was at the time extremely gratified by this direct recognition from his ancestors. I had not many opportunities of talking with him after this had occurred; but I saw that the movement which had been made to regain for the patrons of the idols some influence over his superstitious feelings, had been, at least for the present, to a great extent successful.

Before this last pretended revelation through the king's son, I had been myself in as great peril, apparently, as ever in my life. In the beginning of May I went, at the usual time, to the king's house to read and write with him, but found, on my arrival, the king, and the French consul, and several others, looking at a number of sick persons dancing in the large room in the stone house. When the king saw me enter, he immediately came towards me, and, taking me by the hand, led me to the room where we usually sat to read or write and converse.

The French consul, and two or three of the king's attendants or friends, followed; and there were one or two persons in the room. I remarked that if he was occupied we had better not read; but he said he wished to do so, and ordered the attendants to close the door. We then sat down, and I opened the book and began to read, but as the noise in the next room rather interrupted us, the king ordered them to make their music less loud. We had not, however, been reading long, before, amid shrieks and cries, there was a rush towards the door, and a battering with stones which appeared to break it, and then a number of dancers, drummers, and idol-keepers rushed with frantic noise into the room. The king, waving his hand to the door, ordered them out, and the door was fastened.

Almost immediately after, another party of dancers, with a number of most frantic and repulsive-looking men, came round the outside of the house to the door leading into the courtyard. The king ordered them away, but as they did not leave, the attendants proceeded to shut the thick wooden door inside. The men who were without then rushed forward to prevent the closing of these doors, and there was for some moments a struggle between them. At length the door, and the window-shutters also, were closed, and we were in perfect darkness. In a few minutes shrieks and cries were again heard in the inner room. The door was opened, I suppose, by the attendants who knew the voices, and one or two women with a child, shrieking, "I shall be killed! I shall be killed!" forced their way into the room, and the door was again fastened. I felt a woman's dress, as she passed me and crouched down against the wall opposite the table at which the king and I were standing. She continued sobbing, and the child crying out in fright. I asked, "Who is that? What child is that crying in fear?" But no one answered. As we stood in the dark, noise and wrestling were heard near the door in the inner room. The king drew closer, leaned his shoulder against mine, and took my hand in his, which I felt was trembling exceedingly, and in this manner we

stood together in the darkness for some time. At length, as the noise ceased outside, the wooden door was opened, and a half-glass door was closed instead. By the light thus admitted, I saw that it was Mary sitting on the floor against the wall, with the king's son in her arms, still crying in terror. I called him by name, spoke kindly to him, wiped away the tears from his face with my handkerchief; and on my telling him that no one would hurt him, he looked up and appeared somewhat soothed.

The dancers again came to the outer door, and one or two of them entered, but the king authoritatively waved them off, and the door was bolted. Some of the idol-keepers, one especially, a most repulsive-looking man, with a large stone in each hand, came and shook the door, raising a stone with a menacing look, but seeing the king standing close, and holding my hand, he retired without forcing an entrance; and all having again become quiet, the king proposed that we should read. I at first declined; but thinking it might help to calm his own spirit, I sat down with him, and though at times he could scarcely articulate, we finished our chapter.

At sunset the king ordered lights to be brought, and as he appeared unwilling that I should leave, I remained with him until long after dark. I observed that he seemed depressed under the idea that there was a kind of fatality about this visitation of the spirits. He seemed bewildered at the irresistible power which took possession of the sick, and, fearing it would increase, said he did not know what would be the end. I satisfied myself by replying that I had seen nothing which did not admit of explanation by natural causes; that what we had witnessed I believed had been produced by the superstitious feelings of the poor ignorant people, who were to be pitied, and whose minds had been worked up to a state bordering on frenzy by the fanaticism and falsehood of the idol-keepers. "As to the end," I said, "we none of us knew what that would be," but I added, "One thing I do know, that there is a God above all,

who controls all things, and can say to any increasing calamity or evil, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.' Put your trust in Him, do right, and all will be well."

Mary, who was still sitting on the ground, and had scarcely spoken, signified her assent to these remarks; but I could see that the threatenings of the idol-keepers were taking effect upon the king's mind, and that he was beginning to fear them.

Several of my friends afterwards told me they had learned subsequently that the visit of the dancers to the king's house had been arranged by the supporters of the idols as the occasion when my life should be taken while paying my usual visit to the king. Though sensible myself of what the appearance and the proceedings of the most violent of these infatuated men threatened, I was not afraid. I felt that I was discharging my duty, and might rely on the Divine protection. It appeared to me that if any such purpose had been formed, the presence of the French consul, and of one or two persons known to be my friends, together with the manner in which the king came close to me, and held my hand in his, thus seeming to make my personal safety identical with his own, might have been the means by which I was preserved from injury.

About a week before this occurrence, my servants had been greatly alarmed by a charm or medicine of sorcery or divination,* betokening evil, having been laid at my door or window for more than a week, generally while we were at prayer. Amongst the heathen such a thing is looked upon as foreshadowing death. Of course I had no fear of any charms, but I thought it probable some of the heathen party might attempt to set fire to my house, and in the confusion produced might use the opportunity for the injury of myself or my property. I

* This charm consisted of a small basket, three or four inches in diameter and depth, in which were two pieces of granite stone, called "death stones." A hole was burned in the basket, which indicated calamity by fire. Amongst the contents were hedgehog's bristles, parts of scorpions or centipedes, hair earth said to be from a grave, and other strange ingredients.

therefore took one of the packets to the king, who said it was the work of *adala foana,* an empty fool, adding that I should have guards to protect me from fire. I also spoke to the commander-in-chief and the prime minister, who sent two soldiers to watch in my yard every night.

CHAPTER XI.

Causes of the hostility of the heathen—State of parties at the capital—Plots and rumours—Proposal of the King to permit duelling and fighting for the settlement of quarrels—Final and unsuccessful appeal of the nobles and heads of the people to the King—My last interview with Radama—Friendly warning and counsel from the Prime Minister—Commencement of the revolution in Antananarivo—Seizure and death of the menamaso—Negotiations between the King and nobles—Efforts of the King to save the lives of his councillors—Notices of some of the men who suffered death—Proceedings on the Sunday—Compromise between the King and the nobles—Surrender and execution of the menamaso—Seizure and violent death of the King—Removal and interment of his remains—Brief notice of Radama II., and the chief events of his reign.

THE hostility of the supporters of the idols against me arose, as I was informed, from the antagonism of my teaching and efforts to their authority, and to the reception of their pretended revelations by the people, as well as from my influence with the king, whom they despaired of gaining over to their interests so long as I was daily with him, and retained his confidence. I was also obnoxious to them because I had refused to turn aside out of the road, or to take off my hat when I met with any of the sick people in the streets, but had rather remonstrated with their friends for not showing more kindness, and taking better care of them; for which interference I often received the commendations of the bystanders, and the approval of the great body of the people.

That the adherents of the idols, alarmed by the increase of the Christians, were making a desperate effort to arrest the decline of their influence, and to check the progress of Christianity was evident to all; and there were reports of their

intention to have recourse to more violent measures, such as attacking the Christians on a Sunday, or other public occasion, when numbers would be gathered together; but, so far as I heard, though some of the Christians were alarmed, I think the idolators were too well aware of what the consequences would be, and of the difficulty of bringing any great number of their adherents together at any given time and place, without the authorities having full knowledge of their movements, and of the immediately available force which the Government always had at its disposal, to venture on so perilous a course.

The party who wielded the power of the state were, at that time, not more favourable to the restoration of the supremacy of the idols than were the Christians. Besides these two parties, the Christians, and the votaries of the idols, of the Tangena and of divination, there were two others, distinct from both, though connected with them, who were affected by the movements which this sickness, and these pretended revelations from the spirit world, brought prominently upon the scene. One of these was the menamaso, which might be called the ministry of the new reign; the other was the survivors of the council or ministry of the reign which had passed away, and their respective adherents.

Chief among the latter were the commander-in-chief of the late queen, and his younger brother, with two or three others, all more or less united by intermarriage or other ties, and who, though not all Christians, were neither all heathen, nor favourable to the claims of the idols. Several of these nobles were members of the existing government, which was chiefly composed of persons who were called the menamaso, or red eyes, the exact import of which is not very clear. The menamaso were comparatively young men, some of them members of the royal family, of good ancestry, though not connected with the families which had held the chief offices of government under the late reign. There was also, as the French Consul observed, the antagonism of clan or race between them. The menamaso had been the companions of the king

from his youth up, and on his accession to the throne some of them became, not only the official members of the present government, but also the king's personal confidential agents and advisers; others retained little more than a nominal relation to the king and his service. Some of them were generally esteemed as intelligent, upright, and patriotic men—respectable according to the standard of respectability among the non-Christian portion of the community. Others were neither better nor worse than those in the same grade of native society, and some were men of bad principles, and notoriously vicious lives, despised by all the respectable classes of the community.

It was reported that the prime minister had disapproved of the proceedings of the menamaso connected with the government, in the exercise of patronage or the selling of offices, and had interposed to prevent the carrying out of their plans, very much to their discomfiture, which led to a rumour that they had threatened his life, as well as that of some of his adherents. It was also reported that they were associated with the supporters of the idols in sending the pretended sick people from the country with messages to the king. Probably it was so to some extent; but the idol-keepers could expect little aid from the menamaso beyond their influence with the king; and if the latter sought the aid of the idol-keepers, it could only have been with a view to the furtherance of their own political intrigues, for there was not an earnest friend to the idols amongst them.

But the rumour affecting the minister's life, whatever might be its effects in rallying his friends around him, never seemed to me entitled to much credit. The party could scarcely have expected to succeed with so wary a veteran as Rainivoninanitraniony, and the attempt must have been death to its authors; for they knew that the whole military force of the country was in the hands of the minister and his brother, and that, though the king was popular with the army, in consequence of his having so greatly diminished the time of their absence from

home, not a soldier would have moved in favour of a menamaso, without a positive order from their old leader, or the commander-in-chief.

Both the evil-disposed among the menamaso, and the supporters of the idols, now sought to accomplish their own objects through the king, whose agitated mind was at this time easily affected by appeals to his newly enkindled or revived superstition—the hereditary reverence with which he regarded the spirits of his ancestors. A day or two after the attack of the frenzied dancers, during our reading at Ambohimitsimbina, this state of things was brought to a crisis, by the king's proposal to issue an order that individuals or parties, even villages, were, on giving notice before witnesses, to be permitted to settle any dispute by an appeal to arms, and that, if any were killed in such combats, the persons by whom they had been killed should not be punished.

On the 7th of May, the king intimated to the nobles and high officers who went to him on the subject, his intention to issue such an order. His friends, even some of the menamaso, tried again to dissuade him from it, and the great body of the nobles and heads of the people remonstrated and protested against such an order, which would be tantamount to a proclamation authorising civil war.

Radama on this occasion appeared dull and bewildered, but obstinate. Some of his truest friends came to my house after the interview in equal amazement and sorrow. Much was not said. The subject altogether appeared too alarming to talk about. Every one seemed silent and thoughtful; but I still hoped the king might pause before committing himself to so fatal a step. Very few of the dancing-people were seen during these days, and those who did appear, were now utterly disregarded.

The cold grey misty morning dawned slowly on the capital on the 8th of May. It was the day of the great weekly market, when the nobles and peasants, agriculturists and manu-

facturers, thronged the roads from the country, with their produce or their money, to sell and buy on the broad open space at Zoma, a northern suburb of the city where the market is held. It was on account of the large gathering of the people from the surrounding country at the market that the place and the day had been mentioned for delivering the kabary, or order of the sovereign, to the people, and where the judges, or herald from the king, by beat of drum, or by firing a musket, called the attention of the people to a royal message, and then delivered the order or proclamation. On this day it was the general expectation of those in the city, that the reported order of the king to allow disputes to be settled by fighting, would be published at the market; and it was on this morning that the nobles and the heads of the people made another effort to induce Radama to renounce the purpose which he had informed them he intended to carry out.

Soon after seven o'clock, I saw the long procession of nobles, officers, and heads of the people, seventy or eighty in number, approaching along the road, which led past my house to the palace. All wore native broad-brimmed straw hats, and large thick plain white lambas, reaching to their ancles, and drawn up over their mouths to protect them from the cold foggy morning air. Two or three abreast, they walked slowly and silently along. The prime minister and his brother, each attended by an aide-de-camp, led the way. The householders or others standing at their doors, or leaning over the walls of their enclosures, saluted the leaders as they passed. Two or three hours later, I saw them return; and afterwards understood that part of the day was spent in deliberation at the prime minister's house, and in proceedings which, in their opinion, the result of the morning's interview with the king now required.

I received during the day several slightly varied accounts of what had taken place at the meeting of the nobles with the king, but all concurring in the same unsatisfactory issue, by his refusal to relinquish his purpose respecting the obnoxious

order. It is said that after vainly endeavouring to change the king's mind, and even beseeching him on his knees not to proceed, the prime minister deliberately said, "Do you mean to say that if two or more persons quarrel and fight, and if one kills the other, the murderer shall not be punished?" To which the king replied, "I agree to that." The prime minister then said, "Aokary"—"enough then," or "so let it be," and then, followed by his companions, he left the place, and returned to his own citadel-like dwelling, on the high ground at the south end of Andohalo.*

So far as the proposal to issue the obnoxious law was the real cause of the appeal to force by the nobles, the last favourable opportunity for retracing a fearfully wrong step had been cast away. The last hour of intercourse in which peaceable arrangement was possible had now passed. All saw that some change would forthwith be attempted by force; but the nature and extent of that change, few, in all probability of those who were now instrumental in producing it, at that time foresaw.

Having reason to believe that the order had not been proclaimed, I scarcely expected any immediate disturbance. My friends, however, informed me that there would probably be some confusion, and kindly came to assist in adding to the fastenings of my house and premises, as in the event of any

* It seems strange that there should be any uncertainty as to whether or not this order was ever issued, and proclaimed in the market or elsewhere, but I heard once or twice that it was proclaimed in the afternoon. I heard, however, more frequently, and from a larger number of witnesses, that notwithstanding the king's declaration in the morning, it was never published. I was told by some friends residing in the north end of the city, who sent a messenger to the market with orders to bring them word as soon as it was actually delivered, that after waiting until long past noon, the time when the kabary or orders are issued, the messengers returned and said there was an order from the king about attending to their plantations, but no orders about people fighting to settle their quarrels. My opinion is, that the order was not promulgated; but the king's declaration, in the morning of the day, that he would not withhold it, caused the party who appealed to him to decide upon the course which they afterwards pursued.

commotion among the people, my house might be set on fire for the sake of plunder, under cover of the general confusion.

Thinking it right to go to the king again that day, in the hope that some opportunity might occur of speaking a word in favour of peace, yet not wishing to be out so late as usual, I went at two o'clock instead of three, in the afternoon. I found the king sitting in a room with two Catholic priests, and among others who were present was the man who, as I was afterwards told, was the leader of the party who had laid the death tokens at my door, and intended to do what those tokens indicated, though I was ignorant of anything of the kind at the time.

I asked Radama if he wished to read, and as he answered in the affirmative and rose to go out, I followed him into the room in which we usually read together. There I delivered to him a roll of specimen lithographs of places and scenes in Madagascar which I had that morning received for him from Lieutenant Oliver. As I sat down beside him, and opened the book, the two priests came in and sate down, and as we were about to begin, Père Finaz said, "I have a little business." On which I proposed to retire. The priest remarked that it was only a very short paper which he wished to read. I said to the king, "If it is very short, I will stay, otherwise I must go." The priest then drew a pamphlet from under his dress, and began to speak in a very inarticulate and confused manner about something I had said on a former occasion in reference to Father Jouen, pointing to the pamphlet. Interrupting him, I said, "Not now. I have not time to hear or say anything about that now—another day;" and turning to the king, I said, "If your majesty pleases, I will retire; I have business at home." The priest still urging that it would not be long, the king exclaimed, "He says another time." I then hastily shook hands with the king, bowed to the priests, and left the room, apparently much to their surprise.

On reaching home, I found two friendly officers waiting with a message from the prime minister, informing me that there

might be some disturbance, and recommending me not to remain in my house that night, but to remove as near to his residence as I could. I begged them to thank the minister for his attention, and then removed what money and other valuables I had by me to a place of greater safety north of the city. Soon after sunset I left the house in charge of my servants, with injunctions to watch against incendiaries, and proceeded to the house of Dr. Davidson, near to that of the prime minister.

Antananarivo at this time was all in motion. Slaves with bundles of bedding, chests of apparel, and other packages, were leaving the central parts of the city in every direction, yet there was little or no noise, save that produced by human footsteps. Two gentlemen who had arrived from Tamatave that morning, and whom I had asked to dine with me, followed me, according to the directions I had left with my servants, and we passed the evening quietly together with Mr. and Mrs. Davidson. The prime minister sent a message to say he was glad I had left my house, and to add that if there was likely to be any danger, he would send us word, and remove us to his own residence. One or two of the Christians who came were glad I was there, as my own house would probably be in the midst of the commotion if any should take place; but we only knew that the nobles and heads of the people intended to resist the proposed law or order; and though there was evidently much moving about in the city, there was still no noise.

Andohalo, at the north-east corner of which Dr. Davidson's house is situated, is a large open hollow in the city where a daily market is held, and where public assemblies are convened. On looking out at daylight the next morning, instead of the slaughtering and cutting-up of oxen, the arrangement of stalls, the bringing in of poultry, of rice, and other produce for sale in the market, we saw some thousand troops assembled under arms in the plain, and the large elevated court in front of the prime minister's house crowded with armed men. We were soon afterwards informed that the troops had been called in

from the neighbourhood by the prime minister and the nobles, who had determined to seize and put to death at least thirty of the menamaso and others, whom they accused of advising the king to issue the law authorising fighting, and of all the other evils of which the people complained. Some of them, we were told, had been already seized and killed, and soldiers were searching for the rest. The paths leading from the plain were in the hands of the soldiers, and we were told that guards were stationed at all the outlets from the city, so that none might escape.

Fresh troops continued to arrive during great part of the day, and detachments of those already assembled were continually being sent off to different positions. At unequal intervals, a frantic yell of almost fiendish exultation was raised at the south end of the plain, as a body of soldiers rushed from one of the roads down into the plain, hurrying along between the lines of troops a captive almost naked, whom they were taking to the north to be imprisoned or put to death. The proceedings of this first day of the outbreak seemed to have been devoted by the nobles to the collecting of their forces, and the seizure of the king's advisers, and of those particularly devoted to him.

Amongst those who suffered on this day of surprisal and slaughter, and of whom I had some knowledge, were R——o. He had been an officer of the palace under Ranavalo, the king's mother, and had been continued in the office by her son. He was also employed as a clerk in preparing government despatches, and other services of the kind. I heard of no specific charge against him. He was conversing with a friend while the menamaso were being sought for; and when it was suggested that his connection with the king might expose him to danger, he replied that he had done nothing wrong. The two friends then retired to pray together, for they were Christian men, and they had scarcely left their retreat when he was seized, hurried away without accusation or trial,

and after proceeding a short distance, was, without word or warning, speared to death on the road-side. His house, which was very near the premises within which we were standing for safety, was rushed upon by a number of men, who clambered over the fence as the widow fled out for safety; and then commenced their work of plunder, quarrelling for the spoil, rending the articles of apparel in pieces, just as I could imagine a number of hungry crocodiles would scramble for their prey by tearing it from each other's jaws. In a few minutes the house was razed to the ground, and after almost fighting for the materials, the timber of the sides, the doors and windows, and whatever else was worth taking, was carried away, and a heap of loose thatch, torn mats, and broken water-jars, was all that remained of what had, until that morning, been a peaceful Christian dwelling. When night spread darkness over the city, the body of the murdered man was taken to a distant place for interment.

A——a, an aide-de-camp of the king, about thirty years of age, was also a Christian, had resided in a house not far from that to which we had resorted for security, and without impeachment, though it was supposed because he had been aide-de-camp to the king, was seized in the minister's court-yard at Andohalo, hurried off to Faravohitra, and there put to death. Neither of these men were menamaso, or counsellors of the king; nor was Luitsiriry. He was a heathen; had been aide-de-camp to the late prince Ramboasalama, but was friendly to the king. He was also seized and put to death to the south of the palace.

Faralahidimy was not a menamaso. He had been a servant in the establishment of the king's mother, with whom he was reported to have been a great favourite, and continued as a servant in the king's establishment. He was a man of vicious life, and had used his position to commit almost every species of wrong and wickedness. He was seized in the minister's yard, hurried to Analakely, and put to death.

Isirahonena was a slave of Ravelo, a relative of the king's, whom I often met at his house. This slave lived near, and was one of Radama's servants. He was seized close to the minister's gate, and dragged and forced along amidst the most frantic movements and hideous yells, across the plain, not far from the spot where I stood. He stumbled in ascending the low bank on the western edge of the plain; but rising again on receiving a stroke from a spear, was hurried on until he reached the French consul's gate, just beyond which he was pierced by the spears of those who dragged him along, and fell and died. A crowd gathered round, but left the corpse lying there all day in the sun. In the evening it was taken away and buried.

Ralambobe was a heathen and a menamaso. He lived near the place of worship of which I was one of the ministers, but I knew little of him. His wife was an unpretending, and apparently sincere Christian. When he heard that his life was sought, he concealed himself in his house, where his wife remained to prevent suspicion. Having failed to discover his retreat, those sent to put him to death met one of his slaves coming from market with provisions, and demanded of him where his master was. When the slave replied that he did not know, they stripped him and flogged him so severely, that at last he pointed to the place. The men then left the slave, seized the master, and instantly put him to death in the presence of his wife, who was unable to help him or avoid the spectacle of cruelty and blood. As soon as possible she left the neighbourhood, and the place has ever since remained desolate.

Isoamanana, also called Paolomity (politician), was a menamaso, a young man of very vicious life, and bad repute amongst the people generally. He was one of those three or four persons against whom I was repeatedly warned by my friends, not only as a dangerous man, but as one who had been heard to threaten my life, because my supposed influence with the king prevented the carrying out of their nefarious designs. Several of this depraved young man's relatives were Christians, and some of

them had suffered death during the persecutions of the preceding reign. Tahaka was a civil officer amongst the Borizano or non-military portion of the community. His wife was a Christian. These and three others were put to death on this day, but I was not acquainted with the circumstances under which they died.

The sun rose the next day upon a scene very different from those which Sunday mornings in Antananarivo had for some time past presented. A few women met together early in one or two of the chapels in the suburbs for prayer, but the men were in the city. To have been absent would have excited suspicion, and rendered such absence perilous.

A number of the menamaso had sought shelter with the king; and the nobles and the heads of the people sent to demand that these should be delivered up and put to death. The king's messengers, with the royal banner in charge of four men, soon afterwards came to the residence of the prime minister, where the leaders of the movement were assembled, with the king's answer, refusing to give them up. Another demand was then sent to the king, backed by the augmentation of the troops in the neighbourhood of the palace, which was now surrounded, and every entrance guarded, by the troops and their adherents.

We did not deem it prudent to go out, but met together in the house, to call upon God in prayer. More than once the royal banner was seen by us being carried towards the enclosed court-yard of the minister which overlooked the plain, now filled with armed men, and this could have presented no hopeful spectacle to the messengers of the king. Parties of officers and men were repeatedly seen to leave the place and proceed towards the palace. The keepers of the idols also went, and offered to bring out the idols before the people, but the minister told them to keep the idols at home—that they did not want them. Messages were brought to us from time to time throughout the day. At length, after repeated demands for the menamaso on the one part, and refusal to deliver them

up on the other, with threats of forcibly entering the palace gates, and preparations for assault and resistance, we heard that the king had agreed to deliver up the menamaso on condition that their lives should be spared; and that the nobles required that they should be deprived of all honours and emoluments, and be banished in chains for life.

This was a compromise with which it did not seem likely that either party would be satisfied; but there was not much cause for fear of conflict now. A little patience appeared to be all that the nobles required to secure their object. The king and his companions, though holding the palace, were now in reality prisoners. There were not more than five hundred of the king's guard, if so many, and their resistance to the thousands of their comrades was very doubtful. There was but little ammunition in the palace, while the minister and his brother, the commander of the forces, had charge of the magazines. The disposition of the citizens, though some were loyal to the king, was not to be relied upon, under the existing state of feeling, to support any movement which Radama might now attempt to resist the force arrayed against him. Since the troops had been drawn in greater numbers towards the palace, the minister had removed his head-quarters to the house of one of his associates, near the gate of the palace, by which means messages could be more easily interchanged.

At the English Consul's invitation we had gone over to the consulate for the previous night, but returned to our former position the next morning, as it was equally safe, and nearer the prime minister's residence. We heard during Monday forenoon, that after every effort to save his friends, the king had agreed to their degradation, the deprivation of all their property, and banishment in chains for life, with this only condition in their favour, that their lives should be spared. It was also added that they were to be delivered up that day. The numbers of slaves passing across the plain, with rafters, posts, timbers, floors, doors, windows of houses, bedsteads, tables, and other

articles of furniture, were evidences of the demolition and plunder of their dwellings. Soon after noon, we heard that the menamasò, who had been surrendered to the nobles by the king, were about to be led to Zoma, the large market-place to the north, to have the irons fixed on their persons, and in a short time, a few soldiers preceding them, entered the broad path on the western side of Andohalo.

The prisoners, who were nearly stripped of their clothing, walked two abreast, dejected and silent, between the soldiers. Their eyes were bent on the ground, and they scarcely appeared to notice any object, or the crowd of spectators by the sides of the road along which they passed. The day had become overcast with clouds, and it rained at the time. The water running off their bare heads and unclothed persons, added to the sadness of the spectacle. I was too far off to observe their countenances, but I saw the tall figure of Rainiketaka in the front of the doomed company, and as I looked, memory involuntarily pictured him as, but a few months before, I had seen him, on the morning of the coronation of Radama, ascend the place where I stood within a few feet of the stairs to the platform, in the suite of the king, wearing as minister of justice, a long green robe, richly ornamented with gold lace, the train borne by two young pages, in liveries of the same colour, looking forward at that time in all probability to a long season of increasing honour; now stripped, abject, bound, as he walked in the drizzling rain at the head of that mournful band, to anticipate fetters and banishment, but actually to speedy execution. He was a Christian, and had uniformly encouraged the missionaries in their work.

There were reports during the season of the king's mental aberration, that this man had renounced his faith, but the reports did not seem to rest on any sufficient foundation. He kept his New Testament to the end of his life, and one of the last messages which he sent to his family was a quotation from the Gospel of St. John. I heard that he acknowledged having

sometimes taken money from suitors (the judges in Madagascar have no salaries), but denied having participated in any other of the crimes laid to the charge of the menamaso.

Instead of being put in irons, these men all fell under the spear of the executioner that same evening. Connected with their deaths the following somewhat remarkable occurrences took place.

Rainitavy, a menamaso, and related to the king, was also a Christian, and, so far as he knew, was consistent, as such, in his conduct. He had scarcely attained to middle age, and lived on intimate terms with the king, less perhaps latterly than in earlier years. He was one of the officers of the palace sent to meet me at Ambatomanga, in 1862, and as he resided near the king's ordinary residence, we frequently met. He fell under the executioner's spear, and lay among the dead, until, in the darkness of night, his servants came to search for his body, in order to its interment. As they were carrying him past the broad hill, to the west of the capital, they were startled by his reviving, and asking them where they were. They told him at the foot of Ambohidzanahary. "And where," he asked, "is my wife?" They replied, at his house. The wound in his side then bled profusely, and he fainted, but again revived, and they carried him to Tonjombato, a village on the western side of the river, and about two miles farther, where again, on the following day, he appeared to revive. His wife was the daughter of Rainjohary, minister of Ranavalo, and a member of the then scarcely formed government. Her family seemed to fear trouble should it become known that he was living, and sheltered by them.

Rajamasa, also a menamaso, and about sixty years of age, had been aide-de-camp to Rambosalama. He was one of the most clever and ingenious men I met with in Madagascar; but one of the most unprincipled, profligate, and corrupting. He was neither Christian nor heathen, but a gross materialist, who

ridiculed alike the superstitions of heathenism and the truths of Christianity, and disregarded equally the voice of natural conscience and of public opinion. He was fond of all kinds of machinery, and was both industrious and skilful in working in iron and brass. He made a large clock, which was put up in the palace, and had the care of the clocks belonging to the government. He was generally employed in constructing something for the king, and passed among his countrymen for an educated man, as he could read and write, and understood a little English, and, I think, French. I spent many hours in a room adjacent to his workshop, reading or conversing with the king and his officers. He usually had something to ask about, whenever I met him, especially relating to electricity, what it was, and how it was applied to the purposes of which he had heard. Yet he was not an agreeable man, but generally sullen and repulsive, and was reported to be vindictive, treacherous, and bloody-minded. He was one against whom I was repeatedly warned, and was supposed to have been the chief instigator of those who placed the death-signals at my door—not that he believed in their efficacy, but as a means of alarming persons whom he wished to injure. He, like Rainitavy, had fallen under the soldiers' spears, and had not been killed, though left for dead. His pleasant-looking, white-walled house, which stood in a nice garden, on the lower edge of the hill to the west of the capital, was demolished, and everything portable was carried off on the same day. In the night his servants came and carried away his body for interment. On the way he recovered, and they reached a spot near Antongana, a singular double-peaked mountain, eighteen or twenty miles from the capital. Here he survived for a fortnight, when he was put to death by his own relations, lest they should suffer, if it became known to the government that he was living and sheltered by them. I did not hear of a single expression of regret at his death. His industry, shrewdness, ingenuity, and skill were well known, and his works often admired; but all these left his heart unimproved, and he was

regarded as a gross, hardened, cruel, and treacherous man; in ability above the ordinary position of his countrymen; in character as low as the most abandoned and dangerous among them.

Betsimasa was a Mainty,* and hearing that the menamaso, of which he was one, were proscribed, he caught a horse which he saw grazing, sprung upon its back, and with nothing but a cord for bridle, fled as fast as the steed could carry him to the south-west, crossed the broad Ambaniala south of the bridge, urged on his way to the second stream Ampitatafikia, which he also forded or swam, and subsequently reached the Andromba, crossed by a bridge of five stone arches. Thence he forced his steed onward to the Risaona, a broader and deeper stream than any he had passed, and about fifteen miles from the capital. Here he left his horse, swam the river, pursued his way, and had his life given him for a prey.

Thirty-one of the menamaso, and officers of Radama were sentenced to die, ten were killed on the first day, fifteen on the day they were given up by the king, two were afterwards captured in the south; two subsequently cast themselves on the sovereign's clemency, and four escaped.

But although the swift rider and four or five others had escaped, the greater part of those proscribed had ceased to exist before the sun had set on that day of blood. The object for which the nobles and their associates had appealed to force had been accomplished. The evil advisers of the king, the authors of all the bad counsel which had led him astray, and as it was said, was fast conducting the country to ruin, had been removed never to return. The great body of the people thought that blood enough had been shed, and that no more lives would be sacrificed; and concluding that as the purpose of removing the evil advisers of the king was now accomplished, they sup-

* This name, which signifies black, is given to persons who have been servants in the household of the royal family, and at a certain age, or in reward for special services, instead of being pensioned for life, receive a grant of land. These often gather together in distinct villages; they are generally loyal subjects, and are regarded with favour by the sovereign.

posed that the business to which the king and the nobles would now apply themselves, would be to arrange such principles, and employ such agency of government, as should be more satisfactory to the several bodies of the people, and more beneficial to the country at large.

Force had been appealed to in the first instance to resist a most dangerous law, which, however, had never been really issued or proclaimed; and even that was ascribed, as indeed were all the errors of the king, to the evil counsels and malign influence of the menamaso. But however distinctly this removal of the obnoxious counsellors might have been deemed sufficient at the commencement of the movement, viewed from the different positions which the parties relatively occupied now, it did not appear so.

Some short time after sunset on the same eventful day, two high officers from amongst the nobles went to the king, within the precincts of the palace, and desired an interview. His majesty sent word that it was too late, and that he would see them in the morning. About midnight they repeated their visit, and their request, when the king sent word that he was in bed, and could not see them until the morning. Soon after cock-crow in the morning, the 12th of May, 1863, these two officers went, as it was reported, with a number of soldiers and four or five other men, to the house in which the king had passed the night, where one of them, a carpenter, forced an entrance, and they then proceeded to take the king.

The queen, who was in the room, endeavoured to protect Radama by placing herself between him and the intruders, earnestly imploring them to depose him if they wished to do so, but not to take his life. All parties who were at all likely to know, whether Radama's enemies or friends, and how much soever in other respects their accounts might differ, concurred in testifying to the great and unremitted endeavours of the queen to protect the person and save the life of the king, until at length she was forcibly removed. When they then proceeded to seize the

king, he is reported to have said, "Do not injure me, my person is sacred. God will call you to account." To which those who were about to take him replied, "We do not know that; but we know that you have injured the kingdom." I also heard that when they seized him, before the mantle was cast over his head, and the girdle passed around his neck, he exclaimed, "I have never shed blood!" No answer was returned, and the herculean arms purposely engaged for the deed tightened the twisted band, which stifled for ever all utterance; and, after a few struggles, a lifeless corpse was all that remained of the humane young ruler, whose accession to the throne had been hailed as the light of morning by the different races of his own country—to whom the sovereigns of England and France had despatched letters of congratulation and presents, and had sent their representatives to his recent coronation. So perished, within the precincts of his own palace, and chiefly by those who had been instrumental in placing him on the throne, the second Radama, king of Madagascar.

At an early hour that same morning, I was sitting alone in a room in Dr. Davidson's house, when an officer who was a frequent visitor, entered and sat down; and when, after I had inquired about the state of the capital, and the fate of the menamaso, I said, "And where is Radama?" he bent his head forward, and in a suppressed voice said, "Radama is dead!" We both remained for some time silent. I then said, "When?" He replied, "This morning, but it is not known yet." I made no answer, and shortly after he left the house; I found the other missionaries had received the same intelligence.

To what a mournful close had many anxious hours of thought and effort now been brought, and what a world of bright and pleasing hopes in my own mind had been destroyed for ever by that brief sentence—"Radama is dead!" How differently to myself personally did many of the aspects of Madagascar appear, from what they had done on my arrival, less than twelve

months before. Not that I doubted for one moment that the divinely appointed missionary work in which we were engaged would still advance; but on account of the different circumstances, under which it would have to be carried on, I could not help feeling that the future was fraught with causes for deep anxiety.

The body of the king remained in the house in which he had been put to death until night, when, about eleven o'clock, it was carried forth in darkness and silence, along that same broad road over which, attended by representatives of the sovereigns of civilised Europe, and surrounded by gazing and exultant thousands, under the clear and brilliant light of noon, he had passed to receive the homage and the fealty of the nation, on assuming the crown of Madagascar. Now the melancholy procession pursued its way silently, and, as it were, clandestinely,* to the royal village of Ilafy, about six miles to the north of the capital, where the body was interred within the court of the Government house, and a small thatched building was erected over the tomb.

The interest excited by the accession of Radama to the throne of Madagascar, the great changes by which that event was attended, and the extent to which his brief reign may continue to affect his country, render a slight extension of this obituary notice not inappropriate.

This prince, although born about twelve months after the death of the previous sovereign, received from his mother the name of Radama. Subject as that mother was to passions as fierce and ungoverned as ever agitated any human being, and possessing, as she did, a heart as relentless and cruel as ever lodged in any human breast, it was often a marvel to me that the son of such a mother should have possessed any of the kindlier feelings of our common nature. It is not easy to form an idea of a more terribly appalling state of society than that in which such

* The only time and mode of interment allowed when a felon is carried to his grave.

an individual occupied the highest position. Not only was the innocent blood of the best in the land shed, to open for her the way to the throne; but all the near relations of her husband were sentenced to the most cruel deaths that could be devised, in order to secure to her its undisturbed possession. The own brother, the sister, the mother of the first Radama were starved to death. The brother endured sufferings which even the sentries placed to guard him could not bear to look upon. Other near relatives fell beneath the executioner's spear. The father of her unborn child, accused of treason and witchcraft, was sentenced by her to die; and when afterwards her sleep was disturbed by dreams and visions in the night, the body was exhumed and decapitated, the severed head, according to the direction of the diviners, being placed at the feet, and the head of a black dog fixed in its place. But as the frightful dreams continued, the bones were taken up and burned, and the ashes scattered to the winds. The house in which this officer had lived was then pulled down, and the very earth on which it stood thrown over the Tarpeian rock, the foundations being sprinkled with sacred water. A sister and other members of the same family were subjected to the tangena, then strangled, and their bodies burned to ashes.* Such were the conditions under which, as an infant, Radama entered upon life.

The child of this mother was also cradled in all the superstitions of the country; and initiated as he was in the far-reaching delusions of that superstition, it was more surprising to me that his mind should be so generally free from their taint, than that their influence should, towards the close of his life, have to some extent assumed mastery over his then shattered reason.

The circumstances and associations under which childhood and youth are passed generally influence the future character of individuals, as much as the dispositions and tendencies derived from parentage; and the moral atmosphere which sur-

* "Persecutions in Madagascar," by Messrs. Freeman and Johns, pp. 14–20.

rounded Radama from his earliest years, was such as it is scarcely possible for members of a state of society like our own to form any adequate conception of. Naturally gay and light-hearted, he was fond of pleasure. Music and dancing entered largely into the amusements of the court at Antananarivo. At some seasons night-dancing and revelry formed part of their pastimes, in which vast multitudes engaged. Every source of pleasure was lavishly provided for the only son of the sovereign —the heir to the throne. Associated with him in these amusements were a number of youths of his own age, children of other branches of the royal race, or of the highest nobles of the land; and under such circumstances, it was scarcely possible that his youth and early manhood should have been morally purer than those of his associates, and there is no evidence that it was less so.

But these were not the only perils of Radama's youth. There were officers of the government capable of teaching him to read and write, and supplying him with books, and to their instruction and training his youth was confided. Until the members of the mission sent by Sir William Stevenson, Governor of Mauritius, returned from Madagascar, we had never heard that there were books unfavourable to Christianity in the country; but these officers found that one of the teachers of the prince was reading "Paine's Age of Reason." While waiting at Mauritius, I myself received from this instructor of the prince a "brief account of Radama," with a request from the author to have it published, and this account stated that the king was a deist; that he believed there was one Supreme God, but did not believe the Bible; that he was neither Protestant nor Catholic, Mahomedan nor Pagan, but respected all who loved peace, and obeyed the laws, whatever their religion might be. I did not publish this account, for I did not believe it to be true; but I sent home with other documents a copy of this, to me, painful and ominous sign of danger. I could not doubt that the king's religious opinions and feelings had been tampered

with, though not perhaps to the extent stated, especially as the Christians still spoke of his friendship, encouragement, and aid.

When we consider the relative positions of the prince and the Christians—he brought up by the side of the queen, and as heir to the throne, flattered by all those whose loyalty or self-interest prompted them to seek the favour of the present ruling powers, and a favourable recollection when he himself should be sovereign, —it appears but little likely that he should have become in any way interested about the Christians. But when we consider, further, that the prince must from his childhood have heard the Christians denounced, if not execrated, both as apostates and traitors, bewitched by the sorcery of the foreigners, and enemies to all that was ancient, established, and honourable in the country,—whom it was necessary to sweep away, root and branch, from the face of the earth; who were to be seized wherever seen, imprisoned, enslaved, tortured, burned, speared, or stoned to death,—it would have been only natural had the prince regarded them with abhorrence, and shunned them with fear. But that he should have shown kindness towards them, and finally have become their advocate, friend, and protector to the utmost of his power, was as remarkable as any event which distinguished the long and severe persecution in Madagascar.

That the young prince became all this to the Christians, every heathen or Christian, native or foreigner, acquainted with the events of the time, freely testifies. When Radama pitied and succoured the Christians, inquired about their books and their worship, expressed his approval of their faith and their practice, as far as he could then understand them, we cannot wonder that they should think he was himself inclined to become a Christian. And when, further, he sought occasion to warn them of coming danger, and endeavoured to avert it, alleviating to the utmost of his power its severity, pleading with the judges, favouring the escape of the accused, assisting in their concealment, sometimes in his own house, redeeming them, when sold into slavery, with his own money, and encouraging them to

trust in God, we cannot wonder if the Christians were led to think that the Spirit of God had moved the heart of the prince thus to favour them out of his own regard for the faith which they professed.

And when, for the sake of saving their lives, the prince said, as he is reported to have done, in the council of the government, —"Why should the Christians be put to death? They have done nothing but good in the country. If, because they are Christians they are to suffer,—I am a Christian. If people are to be put to death because they read the sacred Book and pray, —I have done this. I must be put to death;"—if the prince made this open declaration, as it is not unlikely that he did under the impulse of his own generous emotions, it was very natural that they should think he had become a Christian, and should write of him as such; although at the time the prince himself may have meant no more than to show the injustice of putting men to death who were good subjects, of whose religion he approved, whose books he had looked into, and at whose worship he had been present.

I can easily conceive of the Christians, under these circumstances, writing to their countrymen in Mauritius, or their Christian friends in England, that the prince was a Christian, without intending either to deceive or exaggerate; and that he also should have spoken in this manner without having become a Christian in heart, or having entered personally upon a Christian course of life.

I can also easily conceive, without attaching blame to any one, how, on the arrival of those statements in England, persons deeply interested in the subject, and not able to understand the difference between the states of society in England and Madagascar, would think that the prince was almost a Christian, or not far from the Kingdom of Heaven. I had heard from the native Christians, before I left England, that he was a Christian; but the warning I received at Mauritius, in the document above noticed, and also statements from the Rev. Mr. Le Brun, con-

firmed my conviction that his conversion was a blessing still to be desired and prayed for. Nevertheless when I remembered the many Christian lives which he had been the instrument of saving, the vast amount of suffering and misery which he had prevented or alleviated, and the cordial manner in which he encouraged every effort to extend the Gospel in the country, I could not but hope that he would himself become personally a partaker of its blessings.

It was under this impression, and also from the intimation I had received of his deistical tendencies, that I devoted so large a portion of the time which I spent with the king in reading the Bible, in endeavouring to set before him its manifestations of the Fatherhood of God; of the divine love and mercy, shown in the great work of human redemption by the Lord Jesus Christ; with its ample provision for satisfying the yearnings and necessities of man's higher nature, which he to some extent seemed to understand and feel, although such impressions were transient as the morning cloud, and passed away as the early dew.

I have but little doubt that Radama's interest in the Christians was first excited by their severe and unjustly inflicted sufferings. The earliest instance of this which I can recollect, was when prince Ramonja, the descendant of a long line of chiefs of a conquered race, the early friend and protector of the Christians, was reduced from his high position on account of his Christianity, and sentenced to serve in the ranks of the army. Radama went to see him, and wept when he beheld the scanty clothing which his friend wore, and the coarse rice on which he fed, and when he heard of his suffering from the cold while on duty during the night. Nor did his compassion end in tears. He sent him food from his own kitchen; but this was mixed with the common rations of his mess, and prince Ramonja shared in every respect the lot of his comrades in the ranks, to whose grade he had been reduced.

Benevolence and kindheartedness distinguished Radama

through life, and presented one of the most striking contrasts that could be imagined between the mother and her son. The benevolence and kindness of the prince appeared innate, and was exercised irrespective of colour, rank, or nation. A number of French sailors who had cut down a flagstaff at Fort Dauphin, in the south, were seized, and sent for trial to the capital. As they approached Antananarivo, the prince and some of his attendants met them, shoeless and with bleeding feet, slowly travelling to the city. Taking off his own shoes, he gave them to one of the sore-footed sailors, and sent one of his attendants to fetch shoes for the others. These men were foreigners, belonging to a nation not thought at that time to be very friendly to the Hovas, and they were also prisoners, coming to be tried for offences against Malagasy law; but notwithstanding this, as soon as the prince saw they were sufferers he hastened to give them relief.

Radama's sense of the sacredness of human life, and his unconquerable aversion to its destruction, were the most remarkable traits in his character, and I have often thought that if not originated, they were matured and confirmed by the shock and revulsion of feeling produced by the waste of life, and the spectacles of bloodshed which must have been made familiar to him during his mother's reign. I believe it was his firm purpose that no human life should be taken by his authority, and that his reign, whatever might be its duration, should be designated by succeeding generations as "the bloodless reign." At least, so he once said to me.

Radama's fondness for company, and his pleasure in society, rendered him an easier victim to intemperance than he might otherwise have been; and owing to some peculiarity of constitution, he was affected by a quantity of wine so small as not to produce the slightest difference with his companions. But if the accounts of his drinking-habits before the time of my arrival were true, there was certainly an encouraging change for the better in this respect for many months before his death.

From the time when Radama ascended the throne and proclaimed religious freedom to all classes in the country, he allowed no interference with the idols, their keepers, or their worshippers; but he had long before this ridiculed the pretensions of the priests, and openly tested the power of the idols. Their priests or guardians had boasted of the power of Ramahavaly, one of the chief national idols, as being itself indestructible and irresistible. The prince employed some men to go and set fire to the house in which this idol was kept, as a means of satisfying his own mind. The men at length accomplished their object, and when the flames of the burning idol's house blazed up through the darkness of the night, the prince, standing outside the palace, called his companions to gaze at the startling, and to him important, conflagration. He never afterwards believed the idols to be in any respect different from the materials of which they were composed in their ordinary and natural state. The pretended communications from the spirits of his ancestors was the only form of superstition by which his mind was ever afterwards affected.

The king abolished the ordeal by tangena, or poison, and never employed or encouraged divination. He only listened to the pretended supernatural communications of the idol-keepers during the prevalence of the sickness, when they professed to bring messages from his ancestors, and thus appealed to a weak and credulous part of his character. This first excited my fears that his reason had lost its balance, and that his mind was seriously disordered.

The strange and unaccountable proposal to issue a proclamation which would encourage the indiscriminate shedding of blood, and would apparently legalise murder, was so entirely opposed to that abhorrence of the taking of human life, under any circumstances, which had until the last few weeks been the most decided feature of Radama's character throughout the whole of his life, that to me it seemed to admit of no other explanation than that his mind at the time was not sane. This

natural and hitherto consistent aversion to bloodshed, appeared towards the last to be obliterated by superstitious influence, but to be revived in the last moments of his consciousness.

I have never said that Radama was an able ruler, or a man of large views, for these he was not; but a more humane ruler never wore a crown. He never assented to the secret destruction of an enemy, nor signed the death warrant of a criminal; and amidst all the agitation and intimidation of a successful revolt against himself, he risked his throne and his life rather than consent to the death of his friends; and the catastrophe which followed was probably in a large measure owing to his persistent endeavours to save them. Even those who strangled him are said to have made no answer to his last appeal for mercy to himself, when, before the twisted girdle round his throat deprived him of utterance, he is reported to have exclaimed—"I have never shed blood!" In those solemn moments, when the pomp and pageantry, the greatness and the power of royalty are vanishing for ever from those whom they have heretofore surrounded, and the realities connected with them alone remain, also for ever; when the throne has been vacated, and the mouth of the grave apparently entered, how seldom have royal lips closed with the utterance of Radama—"I have never shed blood!"

The proposal to issue the obnoxious and fatal law was the immediate occasion of the revolution: its causes were of deeper and earlier origin. To remove the menamaso, as the king's agents and confidential advisers were called, to replace the power and patronage of the government in the hands of the party in the state which originally held it, to re-enact in part the laws which had been abrogated, to increase if possible the army, to retain the advantages of commerce with foreign countries, but restore the former system of internal government as far as possible, with the toleration of Christianity, and the permission of education, were probably the chief objects sought by the change which had taken place. Whether the substitu-

ting of other men for the menamaso, and allowing the king to retain a nominal sovereignty, while the new ministers should actually govern the country; or whether the course which things actually took was intended from the first, cannot perhaps now be ascertained. The authors of the king's death would have stood higher in the opinion of other nations had they allowed him to live, even though deprived of real power; but the peace of the country might not have been secure so long as he remained alive amongst the people.

The opening of the country to the industry, enterprise, and skill of foreigners, the entering into treaties of friendship and commerce with England and France, and the establishment of perfect religious liberty and equality for natives and foreigners, placed the relations of Madagascar with other countries on a better foundation than had ever before existed. The forbidding of all persecution on account of religion in the country, and the granting of sites for the memorial churches, the abolition of the tangena, and the punishment of death; the diminishing the attendance required of the soldiers, and reducing the amount of unrequited service demanded by the government; the introduction of the payment of wages for work done by the natives, together with the substitution of friendship and confidence amongst the different tribes, instead of distrust and hostility; thus seeking by justice, generosity, and peaceable measures, to bind the different races to their rulers, and to each other, rather than to hold them in subjection by force;—these are among the benefits of Radama's brief reign, which will perhaps be remembered with advantage to his country, when his failings, his errors, and his vices shall have been forgotten.

CHAPTER XII.

Public announcement of the death of the king—Plan of government proposed to the queen with the offer of the crown—Her majesty's acceptance of the crown—Our first interview with the queen after the revolution—The dispensary, and Dr. Davidson's attention and services—Objects of interest amidst scenes of commotion—Remarkable order and good behaviour of the people—Germs of representative government introduced—Demonstrated deception in reference to the dancing sickness—Difficulty of obtaining reliable testimony—Summoning the people to receive the laws of the queen—Description of the laws—Native orators and oratory—Reception of the laws by the people—Statement of the objects of the mission to the queen and the government—Protection and liberty promised—Influence of the change on the Christians—Encouraging progress of the Gospel.

THE late king and those who acted under him having been thus entirely removed, those by whom his reign and his life had been terminated addressed themselves to the reconstruction of the government on a better foundation. This was a work which they knew could not be delayed, for there was, on the morning of the 13th of May, an evident uneasiness and anxiety in the countenances of the men who met in the different parts of the city. And when, about noon, the firing of cannon announced to the people that some great event had taken place, and a number of officers were soon afterwards seen entering Andohalo, there was an instantaneous movement towards the place where public kabarys or messages are delivered.

On reaching this spot, the chief officer announced that Radama, inconsolable for the loss of his friends, whom he had surrendered to the nobles, had, during the night, put an end to his own life. That Rabodo, under the title of Rasoherina, was now queen. That for the future the word of the sovereign alone was not to

be law; but that the sovereign, the nobles, and the heads of the people were to unite in making the laws; that the friendship with foreigners was to be maintained; that no one was to be put to death on the word of the sovereign alone, but that the nobles and heads of the people must concur in the sentence before it could be inflicted; that religion and worship was to be equally free to all—to natives and foreigners—Christians and non-Christians, excepting in Ambohimanga, where there should be no public worship, though the Christians might continue to reside and worship in their houses in that ancient city or village, and build a house for public worship outside the gates. It was further stated that the ordeal of tangena was not to be used, but that death was to be inflicted for great crimes.

A party of officers came to us, with the copy of the articles of agreement, which had been that morning concluded between the nobles and the queen. This document we read while the multitude on the plain were listening to the message from the authorities. I was somewhat surprised when I looked at the first article, viz.,—"The sovereign shall not drink spirituous liquors."

Besides the articles of agreement above specified, the document declared:—

"There shall be freedom of intercourse and trade with subjects of other countries, and liberty and protection are guaranteed to all foreigners who obey the laws."

"Duties are to be levied on exports and imports, and commerce and civilization are to be encouraged."

"Domestic slavery is not abolished, but masters may give freedom to their slaves, or sell them to others in the country."

"The military force of the country shall be kept up."

In the paper it was stated that no person was to be put to death unless twelve men declared such person guilty of some crime punishable according to law by death.

We thanked the officers for their kindness in relieving our

anxiety as to the course which affairs might take, and expressed our satisfaction that the regulations were such as, in our estimation, appeared well-adapted to secure the prosperity of the kingdom.

The officers stated that in the course of the morning the nobles and heads of the people had drawn up the conditions specified in the paper, as the basis on which the government should be conducted, and that when they had agreed among themselves, four of the chief nobles had submitted the document to the queen, as expressing their views in reference to the future exercise of the sovereignty in the country; stating also that if she was willing to adopt them as the foundation of her rule, it was their wish that she should be their queen. They told us that Rabodo, after reading the statements very carefully, and asking for explanations on some of them, had expressed her perfect willingness to receive the crown on the conditions which they had specified; and that Rasoherina,* the queen, had attached her signature to the document, which had also been signed by the prime minister on the part of the nobles. As soon as this important transaction had been thus accomplished, the cannons which the people had heard were fired to announce the inauguration of a new reign.

As I looked with something like surprise at the first article, knowing that the framers of the document were not themselves all members of the Temperance Society, the officer said the nobles considered that the worst things Radama had done in the course of his reign were done when he had been drinking, and therefore they wished to prevent his successor falling into the same danger. I replied that what they said was certainly true, and I thought it was wise in them to endeavour to prevent the recurrence of results so disastrous.

In connection with this subject I feel it due to the queen to state that the introduction of a condition which seemed so

* This was the name of one of the queen's ancestors.

strange to me, was, as the officer said, a means of prevention, not of cure; for I never saw, on any occasion, the least tendency to indulgence of this kind, and had never heard a remark which might seem to indicate the need of such a precaution.

In the course of the afternoon an officer came to say that it would be suitable and agreeable if we were to proceed to the palace to pay our respects to Rasoherina, the queen. On reaching the palace we found the prime minister and his brother, with other nobles, in attendance, and on being introduced to her majesty, it devolved on me to speak, on behalf of my brethren, on this unusual occasion.

I thanked the queen for allowing us the opportunity of expressing our wishes for her own personal welfare, and for the prosperity of her kingdom, our confidence that the friendship between Madagascar and England would be maintained by her majesty, our reliance on her continued protection and encouragement in our work, as well as in the undiminished liberty enjoyed by the Christians. We then presented our hasina of a dollar from each individual.

The queen replied that our visit was welcome; that she was most anxious for the continuance of the existing friendly relations with England and other countries, and would protect all foreigners in Madagascar; and that there would be no interruption of our work in teaching the people; that perfect liberty would be continued to the Christians; and that she hoped peace and good will would prevail among the people. The queen then retired, and after conversing a few minutes with the ministers we left the palace.

This was the first audience given to foreigners, which we should not have thought of seeking but for the intimation from the palace; and it was perhaps given to us in order that the people might see that, so far as we were concerned, the changes in the government had made no difference in respect to the English and the Christians.

I had not seen the queen since the public reception and

banquet, which in that same court and palace had, about a month before, welcomed her return with her ladies in attendance, all joyous and bright, and wreathed with garlands of flowers from Ambohimanga. I was deeply affected, almost startled, when introduced into the presence of her majesty, whose person was enveloped in the ample folds of the royal scarlet mantle, and when I saw that she wore the identical crown which I had so recently seen Radama place on his own head at Imahamasina, while she was standing by his side, in the presence of assembled thousands; and when I observed that beneath that golden crown there now hung down the unbraided hair, emblematical of death and mourning, the traces of anxiety, exhaustion, and sorrow on the queen's countenance affected me with the deepest sympathy,—a feeling not diminished when I heard afterwards that she was frequently in tears.

I called on some friends, met a number of persons, and in the evening I returned to my own house, thankful not only that I lived to return, but that I found my premises safe and my servants all well. No near neighbour had been included in the fatal list of the proscribed, on whom such fearful destruction had so swiftly fallen. No dwelling had been demolished; no families had been broken up and scattered; no husbands or fathers were dead, leaving widows and children to be seized and sold into slavery.

I had but few visitors, and we were none of us communicative; we appeared unable to realise that the spectacles which had flitted in such fearful rapidity before us, had been actual occurrences. We seemed as if just awakening from some ghastly and terrific dream, the images of which still haunted us, rather than to be remembering things which were now finished and unalterable. The evening was indeed quiet; but the occurrences of the past few days had been too numerous and strange, and some of them too tragical in their issue, not to force upon me deep feeling with regard to the vast changes which had taken place in those with whom my intercourse had

been frequent and intimate; on some of whom the stroke of death had fallen so sudden and unexpectedly, and on others who, though still living, were desolate and afflicted.

Some things that I heard deeply affected me. I had been told that on the evening of the previous day, the last evening of his life, Radama had sent a message or a note to the French and English consuls and to myself, but that the officers had not allowed his messenger to bring them. I saw the messenger afterwards, and asked if what I heard was true. He said he had a message for me, but was not allowed to bring it. He did not say what the message was, nor did I think it prudent to ask. But had I received a message to go, I should certainly, if the authorities would have allowed it, have gone to visit the king, and would have endeavoured to direct his thoughts then, while he was virtually in prison and under sentence of death, as I had done when he was a sovereign on his throne, to Him who is able to save to the uttermost, and will cast out none who come unto Him. But it was not to be.

Notwithstanding so much that was distressing, there had been also some few aspects of the scene unexpectedly suggestive of reflections not altogether painful. The garden in which we passed much of the time of this great change commands a view of the plain below, including the several roads, as well as the houses and yards in the immediate neighbourhood. It was not far from the house in which Dr. Davidson received daily numbers of sick and diseased, not only from the several parts of the capital, but from places many miles distant. It was also close to the spot on which, immediately afterwards, an excellent dispensary was erected. Dr. Davidson's presence amongst us has not only been a great blessing to the several members of the mission, but his skill, attention, kindness, and industry, have been useful to multitudes of the people. The direct and often certain and beneficial effect of his remedies —contrasting so favourably with the nostrums and divina-

tions of the native medicine men—has produced a good effect upon the people generally, as well as upon his patients, showing that there is a reality of result in what the Christians do, and that the benevolent application of knowledge and skill is sometimes life as well as power. Amid all the din and excitement of surrounding events, I noticed that several of the sick came, or were brought by their friends, for medical aid while we remained there. In the position we occupied we witnessed some of the wild acts of demolition and plunder which took place at only a few yards' distance. I was interested also in observing the different kinds of weapons with which the non-military portion of the crowd armed themselves. They were chiefly spears, some of them singularly shaped. Occasionally a man was seen armed with a knife, a hatchet, or an axe. But whatever might be thought of the barbarism of some of their proceedings, such as their frightful yells when a prisoner appeared in sight, or the thrusting a spear into a captive because he stumbled, or did not run fast enough when they were hurrying him along to the place of execution, I could not avoid remarking the easy, confident manner in which the water-carriers and other women passed to and fro, without the slightest hesitation or fear, along the roads and thickly-crowded places; while in the different enclosures around the dwellings on the borders of the plain the slave girls spread the mats, brought out the rice as usual to dry in the sun, and then sat down to their work on the edge of the mats, without fear, to pick the straw from the grain, as if perfect tranquillity had reigned around.

The only public notice given was issued soon after sunset on the evening before the troops entered Andohalo, when a crier went round, warning the people to extinguish their fires, and to guard against conflagration. And yet, though no other public order was delivered, the strictest discipline prevailed amongst the soldiers; and such was the restraint upon all, that no theft was committed; no fence or enclosure was broken; no

building was demolished or fired; and, excepting in those instances in which, according to Malagasy usage, the houses of those sentenced to death were torn down and their property seized, not by a lawless mob, but by the men appointed to execute the sentence of the Government, the buildings, enclosures, and gardens throughout Antananarivo remained, at the close of the revolution, as uninjured and entire as before its commencement, although the city had been for four days filled with the military and a partially armed population, at times adhering to opposite parties. I did not hear that a shot was fired, nor, beyond the hurried seizure and execution of the proscribed individuals, that a blow was struck during the whole time.

This spoke much in favour of the arrangements of the leaders of the movement, as well as of the discipline of the troops, of whom eight thousand entered the city on the night after the last meeting between the nobles and the king, and to whom others were said to have been afterwards added. It also reflected great credit on the non-military portion of the people for their watchfulness and self-control, as well as for the good behaviour of the general population, in their regard for order and for the preservation of property; while it furnished satisfactory evidence that we were among a people who clearly understood the movement in which they were involved, and not in the midst of a horde of untamed savages.

Whether the chief leaders of the revolution had previously determined on a change, and while waiting for a favourable occasion to accomplish it, had decided in their own minds on the chief outlines of a plan of future government, or whether the programme presented to the queen, with the offer of the crown, had been, as was stated, drawn up in the interval of the few hours between the death of Radama and the proposal to his successor, it is not material now to inquire. But it occurred to me at the time, and has done so since, that those brief statements of the changes to be made indicate the

steps by which communities mould their institutions during the periods of their early history.

In the short document presented by the nobles to the queen, there were two or three remarkable items. In every former reign among the Hovas the title to the throne had been by conquest or by bequest. Radama had derived it by both; and although there are instances among the traditions of the people in which the claim by descent has been set aside by bequest, the sovereignty had, so far as I have heard, never been derived from any other source than that, or conquest.

In this instance a new source of power appeared to have been introduced. It was now assumed that the power to dispose of the sovereignty, and therefore the possession of it, was in the hands of the nobles, and of the heads of the people; and they tendered it on certain conditions, to the selected individual, without any reference to descent or bequest, and with the intention, it was stated, of looking elsewhere if the conditions should be declined. The very proposal seemed to be breaking the chain of succession by right, and creating an additional source of supreme power, to rest in the choice of the nobles, and the heads of the people; and they were careful to set forth in their early kabarys, or proclamations, that the present queen was the people's choice. On her mother's side she was of royal descent; but this was not the ground on which the crown was offered.

The next important change was that of uniting, with the sovereign and the nobles, the heads of the people in the exercise of power over the lives of the community, by requiring the consent of their representatives, before any one should be put to death. The frightful destruction of life during the late queen's reign, and the threatening aspect of the project of Radama after his mind had become disordered, naturally induced a desire to provide a safeguard of life. It does not appear to have been intended to apply to the slaves, as they are not mentioned; and although law, or custom, is understood to give

the master power over the life of his slave, this power is rarely exercised.

The third great change initiated by this document was the share secured to the nobles and heads of the people in the making of the laws for the nation. Practically, it had occasionally, and to some extent been so, even before the days of the first Radama; but though the sovereign generally took counsel with his selected advisers and chief officers, it was optional on his part to do so; and, as in the case which caused Radama's fall, he might issue his orders, if he chose to risk the consequences, in opposition to their advice. The condition therefore that the word of the sovereign alone should not be law, but that the heads of the people should take part in the making of the laws, was intended to secure most important advantages to the entire community. And even should these stipulations not be strictly adhered to by those who had been parties to the engagement, the very fact that one party should have selected, and urged them as the conditions according to which the supreme authority should be exercised, seemed an indication of progress in a right direction, and towards a better condition which must be gradual, and can only be reached by advances concurrent with their own intellectual, moral, and social improvement.

On the day after the revolution I heard that the queen had sent letters to the Emperor of the French and the Queen of England, expressive of her wishes to maintain friendly relations with those countries, and of assurances of protection to foreigners in Madagascar. The minister had likewise sent orders to the governors of several of the ports, to show all friendly attention to foreign vessels visiting their coasts.

After the new government had been proclaimed, a large portion of the troops returned to their homes, and as the excitement and agitation of the startling and fearful events of the past six days subsided, men began to see more clearly the actual position of affairs. The relatives and the adherents of those who had been chiefly instrumental in effecting the revo-

lution, were some of them naturally jubilant on the occasion. The friends of the late king were of course silent. Those otherwise disposed had no longer any cause to be so; and whether the regicide had been predetermined or not, it was now a fact; and whatever tended to darken the character of the victim was supposed to render less culpable, if it did not justify, the deed. The worst vices that were reported of the king I never heard of till the very eve of his death, or afterwards; nor had I heard him charged with any but the immoralities common among a large portion of the non-Christian part of the community, until a short time before that event took place. In general the people at this time were thoughtful and reserved. Many who did speak appeared to think it would have been better to have allowed the king to live, even if others had ruled. It was said that, in the highest quarters, a very partial mourning for him was initiated. And although but few ventured to show regret for his loss, there were affecting occurrences, arising out of the tidings of his death, which indicated a degree of feeling which at that time it might have been dangerous to express.

Rainitavy, a relative and friend of Radama's, as well as one of the menamaso, has been mentioned as having revived while being carried away from the spot on which he, as well as the others, had been speared, and left for dead. On the second day after his revival, he inquired where Radama was, and when told that he was dead, he is reported to have said that he did not wish to live, and to have caused his wounds to bleed afresh until he died.

The effect of Radama's conduct towards the Sakalavas on his accession has also been mentioned. A day or two after his death a Sakalava chief and his attendants arrived at Antananarivo on a visit to the king, and when informed that he was dead, it is reported that the chief fell on his face and wept, and returned immediately to his own land.

I was struck with the fact that neither immediately after the

death of Radama, nor at a later period, did the authorities, nor any of the people, ever speak of him in terms of disrespect or with ill-feeling. One of the chief indications of the light in which his end was regarded was, their not employing, when referring to it, the term generally used to express the decease of a sovereign, or a person of the highest distinction, which term signifies to turn back, or *retire;* while when speaking of his death they employed a term signifying *gone,* or having left; and, in reference to the revolution it was only said that the government was changed, or had changed.

It has been stated that the king was carried to his tomb secretly and by night, as criminals are taken to the grave. The Malagasy customs were nevertheless so far observed, as that some of the articles which had belonged to the deceased, and which were said to have been selected by the queen, were placed with his body within the tomb. Amongst those which I heard specified was one of the large English Bibles which had been presented to him. There was not however much difference between the treatment of the king, and that of his friends, in the circumstances attending their death and burial.

During the king's life, his faults and his evil doings had been ascribed to the menamaso, though others besides these were members of his government, and all who were put to death were not menamaso. Even among these there was a difference, for though some were capable of counselling the king to his injury, and towards the close of his reign of wickedly leading him into most vicious practices, all were not such, and some were innocent of the evil conduct which, after their destruction, was laid to the charge of the menamaso.

Another remarkable circumstance connected with the events of the past week was the effect produced on the pretended sick persons. When the differences between the king and his nobles became serious, the pretended sick dancers were but rarely seen, and after the last interview of the nobles with Radama, no dancer or jumper appeared in the city, no more visions were

seen, and no further messages came from the spirit-world. Indeed it had previously been shown to be pure deception. One chief, among whose slaves this disease appeared, had instantly ordered them to be flogged all round every day to cure those who were affected, and to prevent its spreading, and it did not trouble that establishment any longer. Some few of the soldiers brought it with them. I saw on the first or second day after their arrival, one or two soldiers spring out from different parts of the ranks, and, holding their muskets in one hand, start off leaping and running down the road. Three or four men set off after them, and soon brought them back. An order was issued that whoever was taken with the sickness, and left the ranks, or neglected duty, should be arrested, bound, and imprisoned, until it should be decided what punishment they were to suffer. The order was sufficient, and nothing of the kind was seen or heard of afterwards. There was little doubt that the persons who appeared in the city had been sent in to keep up and increase the injurious influence produced upon the king's mind, and when that had accomplished its object it ceased altogether.

In noticing the causes which led to the revolution, and the steps by which it was brought to such a sanguinary close, I have confined myself chiefly to what passed under my own observation, or was related on what appeared reliable testimony, which however is certainly one of the most difficult things to obtain in the country. Untruthfulness was formerly inculcated, and commanded when it could be used in the furtherance of interest or policy; and even amongst the Christians, although condemned, it is one of their most easily besetting sins. Many of them still seem to think that if they repeat what they have heard, the correctness or otherwise of the facts stated rests altogether with those who first reported them. Hence I seldom received a statement about which there could be any doubt, without inquiring whence it came, and forming my own opinion accordingly.

It is scarcely possible for a stranger from a country where truthfulness of statement is the rule to avoid falling into errors of judgment and belief, until experience has enforced the necessity of most carefully examining testimony before adopting it, however plausible, and even consonant with the views of the individual it may be. In my own case I found occasion, in consequence of subsequent information, to modify the opinions I formed at the time of the events which I have described, and the account now given is, I believe, in its main facts correct, so far as evidence has been available to make it so.

Although the people in and around the capital returned after a time to their accustomed occupations, considerable stir was observable amongst the officers, numbers attending daily at the gates of the chief ministers. Small parties of men also continued to arrive to inquire into the truth of the rumours which had startled the inhabitants of their remote, and comparatively unfrequented, villages; and when they found that Radama was indeed dead, and the queen now supreme ruler, little more was said. It was not safe to make inquiries, or to express concern about the late king, scarcely to make use of his name, for sympathy for him was supposed to imply disaffection towards the government of his successor; and to avoid this, and justify his removal, perhaps prevented the reports from being always carefully accurate.

One great object of the government now appeared to be to make themselves popular with the army. To the men on duty at the palace they gave pay, a new thing in Madagascar, which did not last long. They also distributed a large number of lambas, or cotton dresses, amongst the men in the ranks; while the officers and others were liberally rewarded for their loyalty and zeal in effecting the change. The people generally seemed to trust in the ability, and just administration, of the prime minister, especially in his known aversion to the transfer of any portion of the territory to foreigners; and the majority were hopeful for the future. There were, however, some who were

not without apprehension that other movements less favourable might follow that which had now been completed.

Notwithstanding the programme of the new government, some of the Christians, as well as others, were timid and fearful, and for one or two Sundays after the revolution the attendance was but small at the several places of worship, and a month passed before our congregations had resumed their former appearance.

I was deeply impressed with the aspect of my own congregation on the first Sunday morning after the king's death. I never saw the people more grave, thoughtful, and serious, than on that occasion. The native pastor usually commenced the worship, and I requested him to do so on that morning. He read the Scriptures and prayed, without singing. I had neither said nor heard anything about such omission; but I saw that it harmonised with the feelings of the people, and I continued the morning service in the usual manner to its close, omitting only the singing. This part of worship is with the Christians generally an expression of joy and praise, and the omission seemed a silent indication that they experienced at that time other emotions.

Madagascar is a region remarkably prolific in rumours, and the present was a state of things calculated to produce them in unusual abundance. Almost every day revealed some change that was to mark the future, thus bringing to the surface the opinions and fancies which occupied the minds of the people, and perpetuating a state of uncertainty and excitement that was anything but salutary. The government were fully aware of this state of unsettlement, and sent out orders to the surrounding districts in the name of the queen summoning a kabary,* or public meeting, to be held at Andohalo, when the laws of the sovereign would be officially promulgated. This

* This word, which is pronounced as if written Kŭbàr, the final vowel being seldom heard, signifies a message, order, or proclamation from the sovereign, as well as the assembly gathered to receive it.

meeting was summoned for the 25th of May, less than a fortnight after the death of Radama.

The importance which all attached to the occasion was manifested by the numbers who attended. Noon is the hour at which messages from the sovereign are usually delivered; but as I passed through the open space early in the morning, small groups had already gathered near the spot which the speakers would occupy, and before the time appointed arrived it was estimated that there were not less than 15,000 men on the plain. I had spoken to the minister who had been appointed to deliver the sovereign's message, and had agreed to take a photograph of the scene as I had done of the coronation, if the day should prove favourable; and a little before noon I went to the place. Here, having secured a suitable position within the enclosure around the house of my former friend—"The father of great thought,"—I made the requisite arrangements, and conversed with the people until the firing of the cannon and the sound of the music announced the approach of the messengers of the queen.

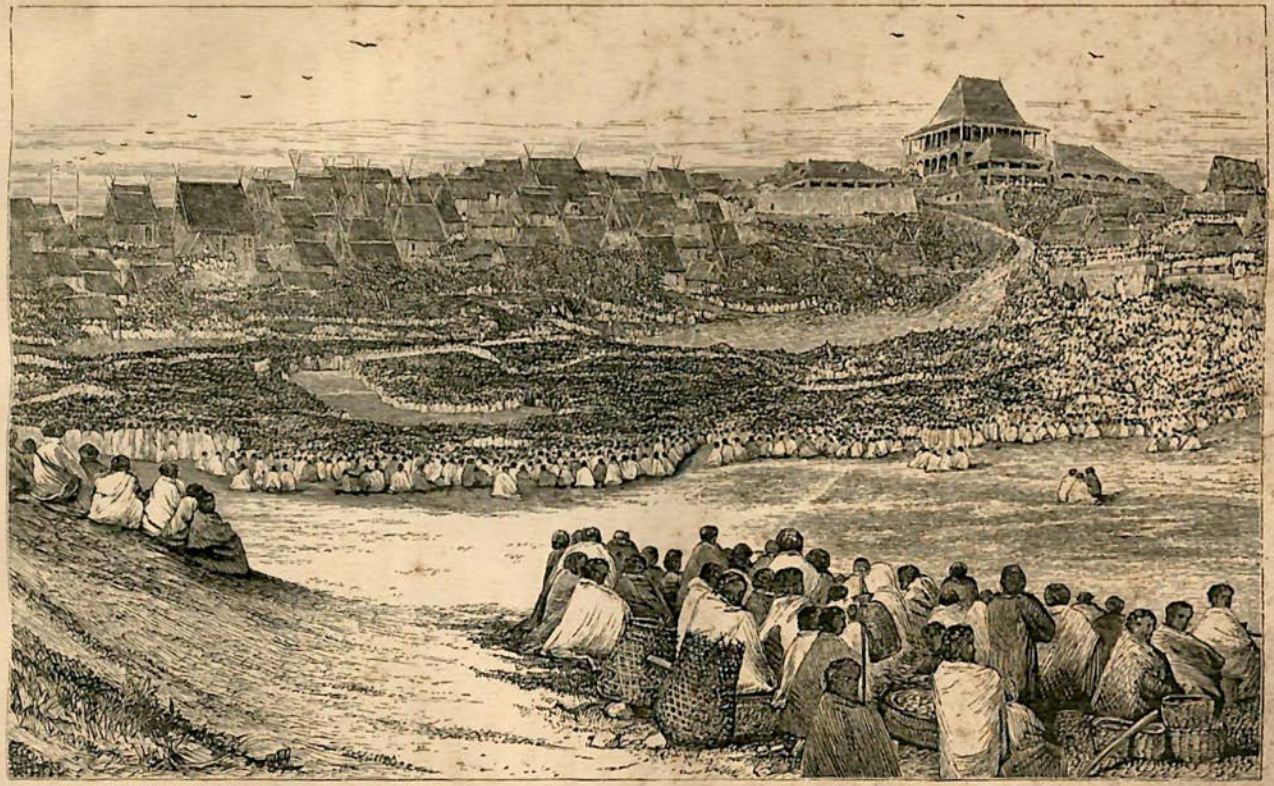
My position was at the north end of the road leading to Faravohitra. At a short distance to the east along the edge of the plain, was the site of the temporary church of which Mr. Hartley is the minister; and beyond this to the south-east the site of the dispensary; officers' dwellings extend along the edge of the plain to the south, where the road from the eastern gateway unites with the main road from the palace, to the north. On the eastern side of this junction of the roads, the residence of the prime minister occupies the northern extremity of the high land which extends through the centre of Antananarivo. The face of the high ground on which the building stands is walled with stone to the height of twenty feet; the fortress-like gateway is reached by a flight of broad massive stone steps, and the position commands the plain below, as well as the main roads. Beyond the road which crosses the centre of the plain, a paved

road extends along the western border, and on the high ground above this are the houses of nobles, and members of the government, as well as the occasional residence of the British consul. A few yards further, at the northern end of the plain, the French Consulate is situated, and beyond this is the principal establishment of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Along the same road, leading from Andohalo to Ambatonakanga, the central training school, and the printing establishment of the London Missionary Society are also situated.

Soon after twelve o'clock the procession from the palace approached, headed by Ravahatra, the chief judge, and Raharolahy, fifteenth honour, and officer of the palace, accompanied by a number of judges and other officers.

Raharolahy is one of the most intelligent, sensible, and accomplished of the Malagasy officers. He was educated in the school of the early missionaries, and reads English and French. He was a member of the embassy sent to England and France by Queen Ranavalona in 1837, and is at present governor of Tamatave, the chief port of the country. He is not a Christian, but is respected as an officer, while his intelligence, and gentlemanly bearing, render him a general favourite.

The people made way as the escort descended the southern end of the plain, and advanced to the eastern side, where there is also a sacred stone, at which the sovereign halts when entering the city on all important occasions. The scene was at this time one of much interest. At the northern extremity of the plain, spectators occupied the elevated enclosure around the prime minister's dwelling, and also those of the nobles and others on both sides of the plain, as well as the banks by which it is bounded. A space immediately in front of the judges and officers who stood at the east end of the plain was left vacant, including the site of the sacred stone. In the inner rank around this space the judges and other civil officers were seated. The judges seemed to be all arrayed in their reddish-brown silk



Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis.

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PROMULGATION OF THE LAWS OF THE KINGDOM AT ANDOHALO.

lambas, in which they appear on all public occasions. The upper dress of the officers was almost universally a silk lamba, the discontinuance of European clothing, and the return to the native dress of former times, being one of the regulations of the present government. There was, except in the case of one or two of the highest officers, scarcely a European dress to be seen in the vast assembly.

There was also a considerable gathering to the north of the sacred stone, and immediately on my right were a number of men with poultry, eggs, and fruit in baskets, which they had brought to sell at the daily market held at the other end of the plain. Unable to reach their usual places, these men were sitting on the ground, gazing at the crowds before them.

As soon as the bustle occasioned by the arrival of officers had somewhat subsided, a herald stood up. He was a compact, well-built man, little above the middle stature, but past the middle age. He wore no painted tabard, emblazoned with quaint device, but, clothed only in the light loose folds of a native cotton dress, and speaking with a voice which, for strength and tone, a public speaker of any country might have coveted, he commanded silence and attention in the name of the sovereign, and then announced that the kabary had been summoned to receive a message from the queen.

Raharolahy, wearing a blue uniform coat, light pantaloons, and the broad tricoloured ribbon of his office, then stood forward, and delivered the message from Rasoherina, announcing, as I was told, that she had become sovereign of the country, and having, with her ministers, considered what laws were required for the protection of life and property, as well as for the prosperity of all the community, she had called them together that they might know them; and that she relied on their attachment to the government, and their desire for the prosperity of the country, to receive the laws, and ensure their observance.

While Raharolahy was speaking, I succeeded in obtaining a

view of the assembly, and when it was finished, I proceeded to the garden already mentioned, for the purpose of observing the proceedings.

When the officer had finished his address, and the people had shouted their loyalty to the queen, the herald again called for attention, and Ravahatra, attended by several of the assistant judges, advanced a little in front of the lines of officers, with a copy of the laws, which he prefaced by a few remarks as to the necessity of the people being made acquainted with the laws by which they were to be governed, in order that they might render and encourage obedience, and not be deceived by false reports about the will of the sovereign. He then referred to the existing laws which were to continue in force—to those that were amended or changed—and to those now introduced. The laws retained without alteration were simply enumerated. The laws changed, and those introduced were then read over, and afterwards presented, each separately, to the whole assembly.

The maintenance of friendly relations with foreign nations was the first thing clearly and explicitly stated; and a corresponding conduct was required from all classes, especially at the ports.

The encouraging of commerce or trading with other countries was the next. Duties on both exports and imports were to be levied at the rate of ten per cent. each way. This was less mistaken policy than that of the late king, who had abolished all duties, but it was not perhaps the best way to draw commerce to their shores, or to increase the use of foreign goods amongst the people; while it could not but tend to encourage smuggling, of which some rather startling instances afterwards occurred.

Perfect religious freedom, or liberty to teach and worship according to their faith, was guaranteed to all—Christians, and non-Christians—natives and foreigners, throughout Madagascar. There was only one exception, viz., Ambohimanga, said to be much of it the queen's private property. But even here

Christians were secured from molestation, only their place of worship must be outside the gates. This was the only alteration. The officers of the place who had been dismissed for prohibiting Christian worship were not restored to their posts, but those appointed by Radama to succeed them were continued in office by the present government.

The important changes embodied in the brief but pregnant conditions on which the crown had been offered and accepted, were embodied in the separate enactments now publicly and authoritatively published. They were somewhat enlarged, but in their import were the same. The enactments that were new, such as the associating the nobles and the heads of the people with the sovereign, in the forming and authorising laws; in inflicting the sentence of death; in maintaining the efficiency of the army; in the continuance of slavery in the country, with the liberty of the master to give freedom to his slaves; the prohibition of the use of the ordeal by Tangena or poison; and the forbidding of the circulation of false reports, were most of them explained by the judges as means of preventing evils which they had deplored, of securing the confidence and satisfaction of the people, and increasing the prosperity of the country.

Any persons were at liberty to offer remarks on the communications made by the judges, but it was only after some conference among themselves that any opinion was expressed, and then only by those recognised as representatives of the parties with whom they were associated. At one of these meetings I saw a countryman, apparently an idol-keeper, stand forward and call out aloud, proposing that the pigs should all be driven out of the city, that the drinking of spirituous liquors should be prohibited; and that the praying of the Christians should no longer be allowed.*

* The combination of things here prohibited is somewhat remarkable, and yet they evince, if traced to their source, a desire to gratify the idols, and to secure their favour. Most of the idols are distinguished by the things they

On the present occasion there was a good deal of speaking. It would not have been satisfactory if such a communication had been received in silence; but no objections were started, nor did I hear that any amendments were proposed. The encouragement and protection of the Christians was, perhaps, more objectionable in the opinion of many present than any other article; but the signal defeat and loss which the idol party had sustained in the death of the king, when he appeared to have acknowledged their claims, and acted under their guidance; the summary manner in which the prime minister had rejected the proffered aid of the idols; and the explicit manner in which liberty and protection had been guaranteed to the Christians, prevented any one objecting very strongly to the enactment.

The vesting of the power to make laws and to inflict capital punishment in the hands of the sovereign, associated with the heads of the people and the nobles, was probably welcome rather than otherwise to the most intelligent part of the community; and although there was with some a kind of reserve, as if they had not seen the end of the changes which had been begun, the approval of these was unhesitating and clear.

The Malagasy in general are good speakers, and judge very correctly of oratory by its effects, which, from what I have seen, I should think at times, and on more exciting occasions, must

have an aversion to, rather than by those with which they are supposed to be pleased; and one of the idols worshipped in the capital is said to have a great aversion to the proximity of pigs, and that aversion, it was supposed, would be continued so long as pigs were allowed to be kept in the capital. Hence the wish that they might be banished.

The city of Antananarivo was compared to a honey-jar without a lid, on account of the ease with which it could be captured. It was taken by the first Radama's father while the king and his forces were carousing after a victory; and when they were most of them intoxicated. To prevent a like calamity, the conqueror threatened with death any man found in a state of intoxication. Regard for this interdict prompted the wish that all spirituous or intoxicating liquors might be expelled from the country. The source of the wish, on the part of an idol-keeper, to stop Christian prayer, requires no explanation.

be great. They use a good deal of action, which, though not violent, appears effective. When the judges spoke on this day they advanced one or two paces in front of the line of their companions, then remained stationary, and used less action than the others. When any one from the people came forward to speak, he stepped out in front of his party, with the lamba over his shoulders gathered together in front by his left hand on his breast, while he used his right arm by stretching it forward when he began to speak, with the folds of his lamba depending from it.

The speaker usually began in a quiet clear voice, and in a short time moved gently backwards and forwards in front of his companions while speaking, his language being correct, and his utterance easy and free. As he went on his voice became louder, his speech more rapid, his step quicker, both his arms moving as he spoke; and then as he still walked to and fro, he took off his lamba from his shoulders, wound it round his waist, fastened it with a bow or knot on his hip, allowing the ends to hang down like the ends of a sash reaching to his ancles, and then, both his arms being at liberty, he would continue his speech with increased action until it ended in a climax. This would generally elicit applause from his friends, into the midst of whom he would rush, untie his lamba, and cover up his person.

All the speakers appeared to be stimulated by the brief, sharp, applauding shouts of their adherents, and some made use of very excited and expressive action. I have seen a speaker, towards the close of his harangue, borrow a large bamboo cane from a bystander, and as he closed his speech, dash it against the floor and break it, then stamp on it, and leaving it broken on the floor, rush into the midst of his party standing behind.

The question of slavery had been introduced both in the conditions on which the crown had been offered, and in the laws. There had been complaints of the importation of slaves to the north-west coast of Madagascar, and the government

knew that it was offensive to the English. Some of the people had supposed there might be a proposal to abolish slavery, and the buying and selling of slaves amongst themselves. The law now promulgated must have set their minds at rest on that question. I had frequently spoken to the authorities about the reports of the trade in slaves on the coast; and when we talked about slavery I had said, that when they came to understand that their improvement depended upon individual industry and enterprize, they would make their slaves free, as a means of increasing the wealth and resources of the country; but that they must make long strides in improvement and intelligence before they would do that. Yet I always inculcated that the good treatment of their slaves would prove amply remunerative to them even now.* They readily admitted that such was the case; and in general, though the slaves in the neighbourhood of the capital may occasionally be ill-treated, this does but very seldom occur.

Soon after three o'clock, the heads of the people having thanked the queen for the communication she had sent, and expressed their customary congratulations and good wishes, the kabary was dismissed, and the officers and judges returned to the palace with the same state as that which had attended their arrival.

Some of the more intelligent and reflecting of the people seemed to ponder over the great change which had taken place, especially the associating of other classes with the sovereign in the framing of laws and in inflicting the death punishment. But they seemed to doubt whether it would be permanent, and I did not think any of them comprehended the fact that their government had, in some of its most important functions, ceased to be

* Although such had invariably been the tenour of my remarks, whenever I had spoken on the subject of slavery, I was represented in the public journals at Mauritius as having brought on the revolution which ended in the death of the king, by my marked disregard of the ancient superstitions of the Malagasy, and by my crude, ill-judged advice, especially by urging upon the king the abolition of slavery.

an absolute monarchy, and had provided safeguards for human life which never existed before. The reckless waste of life by the late queen had, in all probability, determined the authors of the revolution to avoid again lodging the power of human life in the hands of any sovereign alone; and the infatuation, or whatever it was, that impelled Radama to propose to issue on his own authority a law so dangerous to the peace and safety of the community as his last proposed order, had induced them to determine that for the future the sovereign alone should not be the framer of the laws that were to be binding upon the people.

For the time at least the end proposed by calling the meeting had been answered. The people in general appeared satisfied, and gave their confidence to their new ruler, and if any felt otherwise they remained silent. The queen was supposed to be favourable to the idols, and her elevation to the throne was in some degree encouraging to their supporters. One idol at least was taken to the palace, and the priests and diviners were frequently there. But the heathen party knew well that the authors of the change which had taken place, and the persons who wielded the power of the government, regarded their pretensions with very little favour; while without any reason to suppose that they were themselves personally much concerned for the interests of Christianity, we believe that they considered its influence on the people to be beneficial; and the fact that many of their families were Christians, also induced them to countenance rather than oppose its progress.

It was under these circumstances that I deemed it due to the sovereign and to the newly-formed government, as well as a means of preventing any injury which might ensue from misrepresentation, to seek an audience of the queen, in order to state clearly what were our aims and proceedings as Christian missionaries. This being readily granted, I had an opportunity in the month of June of thanking her majesty before the officers of the government, who were most of them

present, for the entire freedom and protection which we continued to enjoy in the prosecution of our work.

I also stated that we had opened schools in connection with the chief places of worship for the education of children, and had nearly completed the large central training-school for instructing teachers to become schoolmasters, being as anxious to promote the education of the people in other parts as in the neighbourhood of the chapels. That we had printed lessons, and were preparing other books for the use of the scholars. That the friends of Madagascar in England had voluntarily contributed a large sum of money to purchase material, and pay for labour to be performed by her majesty's subjects in building four stone churches in the places where Christians had died on account of their faith, to remain as memorials to future generations of the fortitude and constancy of the Christians who had died there.

The queen said that the work I had mentioned was good; but that for any arrangements or aid respecting the churches, I could speak to the officers, pointing to the prime minister. I expressed my obligation to her majesty for this reference to the ministers, and said they were already acquainted with our preparation for the work; and I added that it was chiefly from regard for what was due to her majesty that I felt it right to state to herself directly what we were doing, and purposing to do in her country, that there might not be any mistake on the subject. I added, further, that we sought nothing from the Malagasy but their goodwill and encouragement in our endeavours to aid their improvement as a nation and as individuals; that we had no other purpose in coming to their country than to teach the people the religion of the Bible, and educate them so far as lay in our power for this life and the life to come; that we had no secret aim, but wished all our proceedings to be open, and therefore wished her majesty and the nobles to be made acquainted with what we proposed to do, as well as with what we had already done.

The queen said she was glad of the information, that she had perfect confidence in the missionaries, and that there would be no hindrance to our work. I observed also, that I had invited Mr. Cameron, who had done so much good in the country formerly, and who had accompanied me on my first visit to Madagascar, to come and assist in building the memorial churches and in other work; that he had agreed to come, with the approval of our friends in England, and would probably arrive in about two months. All who were present expressed their pleasure at this intelligence.

I then stated that we were but few, while the people needing instruction were many, and that in order to promote the more effectual instruction of such of the people as were willing to receive it, the Society were preparing to send out four additional missionaries and their wives. I felt assured, I said, that on their arrival her majesty and the government would accord to them the same liberty, protection, and encouragement as had been given to those already in the country. The queen said she was glad they were coming; that they would receive the same protection in their persons and property, and the same liberty in the prosecution of their work as those now in the country; for there was no change in regard to the teaching and worship of the Christians in the country. I stated that I had written to inform the friends in England of the declaration of perfect religious freedom which her majesty had made in the first public kabary delivered to her people; and that after what she had been pleased to say, I would write and tell them that the expected missionaries would be received with the same kindness and goodwill as had been shown to ourselves. The queen said it would be quite right to do so, for they would find no difference. I retired soon afterwards, with assurances that my communication had been acceptable.

The great political change which had swept over the country, more especially over Imerina, had, like one of the fearful hurricanes which so often sweep over the adjacent ocean, been too

sudden and violent to be at once felt in all its force, and perceived in all its immediate and far-reaching consequences. People seemed almost stunned by the shock, and too bewildered to realise the actual change which had occurred. Many were startled from their wonted security in things as they were, and became uneasy and apprehensive about what might still be to come.

From the first this change operated favourably on the religious state of the Christians. It caused many to feel that this was not their rest; and it induced a spirituality of mind, and an increased earnestness of attention to the requirements of the Gospel. All were more watchful in their words, more circumspect in their walk, and apparently more anxious to keep their hearts right with God, than they might have been before so much that was deemed firm and lasting had been shaken and swept away. Although for a Sunday or two after the change but few attended our congregations, the renewed proclamation of liberty of worship at the kabary, and the declaration of the sovereign in presence of the members of the government, that, in reference to the Christians, there would be no change, seemed to reassure them. Those who were willing to defer their personal acceptance of the great salvation, kept away from our assemblies; but those who were sincere in their desires after the blessings made known by the Gospel, decided to cast in their lot with the people of God without farther hesitation or delay.

Our places of worship were soon well attended, our houses seldom free from persons who were anxious to know what they must do to be saved, and many, during the immediately succeeding months, were admitted to Christian fellowship. In my own church, from sixteen to twenty were sometimes received at one time, and in other churches the numbers were still larger.

The quiet orderly conduct of the Christians during the time of the greatest excitement, had secured for them the

confidence of the most important portions of the community, as a party that might be relied upon in an emergency; and while they were perhaps grateful for this, they appeared to be themselves more impressed with the conviction that religion was a matter of personal concern—a business between man's own spirit and God; and that the uncertainties connected with everything here should make them more earnest to have their own loins girded, and their own lamps burning, and to be more zealous in their efforts to bring others to Christ, seeing they knew not how soon a change might come.

It was soon necessary to enlarge or rebuild two of the existing places of worship; while intelligence from the smaller churches and congregations in the villages were also encouraging. We were truly thankful to see, amidst the sources of present trouble, and causes for apprehension for the future, this earnestness amongst the Christians to bring others to the knowledge of Christ, and encourage them to seek his favour and blessing. With a view to give suitable and practical expression to this feeling, we proposed to hold a united missionary prayer-meeting on the first Monday in every month, at which the Christians of the several congregations in the city should unitedly pray for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ in the heathen portions of their own country.

We commenced this meeting on the first Monday of August, 1863, and long before the appointed time many more had arrived than could gain admittance within the building, so that we removed the pulpit to the large doorway in order that both those within and those without might unite in the service. There were at least three thousand persons present. All seemed gratified, and many expressed their regret when they dispersed, as the sun was approaching the horizon, that they had not met at an earlier hour.

But it was not at Antananarivo alone that these encouraging tokens of the Divine blessing were manifested. The change in the government brought many persons from distant parts of

the country to the capital, and amongst those from the west, and from Fort Dauphin, the extreme south, Christian men came whose conversation, spirit, and conduct gave satisfactory evidence of the reality of their faith. They encouraged us also by the accounts they brought of other Christians in these remote parts. One individual, received into communion, had, as an officer, been most active in arresting some who had died for Christ; but more remarkable still was the case of the inhabitants of a village to the north, Amparafaravato, the whole inhabitants of which had been votaries of the idol or idols kept in the village; but the Gospel had penetrated even there. A number of these villagers had become Christians, had appropriated one of their houses to Christian worship, had abandoned the idols, and met together in the house they had themselves set apart for the worship of the true God; some of these now applied for admission to fellowship with us. Those who knew them testified to their Christian character. They were baptized, and afterwards received to the church. Fears were entertained that their proceedings might displease the queen, but when her majesty was informed of what had taken place, she said, "If any of the people of the villages are Christians and wish to leave, they may do so. It is nothing" (there is no blame), "let those who wish go, and those who wish stay, for there is no impediment to the following of the idols or to uniting with the Christians," and on this word of the queen some of these Christians had come and united themselves with our Church and congregation. This speech of the queen had been delivered publicly; it was now repeated before the officers of the government and others who were present, and inspired confidence while it gave great encouragement.

In the minds of the people this encouragement was applied to the actually existing state of things. In my own mind it was associated with far more extended considerations. In common with every Christian in Madagascar, and in other countries, who thought upon the subject, I had regarded Radama as

the instrument by whose position and favour Christianity was was to be liberated and extended in the country. The death of this young ruler was to me personally a great affliction, and I cannot describe what it was when viewed in connection with himself. Seldom had a future more full of promise, in relation even to the present world, opened before an expectant prince, whose avowed desire it was to cause his reign to be remembered as the happiest his country had ever known; and seldom has a morning so bright and hopeful been so soon followed by a night so dark and fearful. That Radama should have sympathised so strongly with the Christians in their sufferings, have saved so many of their lives, have encouraged so effectually the propagation of the Gospel, have made himself acquainted with its heavenly teachings, without personally experiencing its power to deliver from the love and the practice of sin, and that he should have been cut off without leaving the least evidence that the Gospel had been attended with any spiritual benefit to his own soul, is among the mysterious events which to us are past finding out. In the preservation and extension of His Church in Madagascar, the Most High appears to have used the late king as an instrument in His own hand to perform a certain service at this particular period of that Church's history, and then to have selected other instruments to carry forward His designs of mercy according to the counsel of His own Divine will.

CHAPTER XIII.

Arrival of representatives of the provinces to take the oath of allegiance—Speech of Iovana, female ruler among the Betsileo—Speeches of the Betsimasaraka and Sakalavas—Pantomimic dances of the Sakalavas—Interview with Christians from a distance—Christian ruler among the Betsileo—Representatives from the Southern provinces—Raloba, chief of the Vangaindrano—A dancing speaker—War-games of the Southern tribes—Fear and flight of Raloba, lest his portrait should be taken—Imposing appearance of the Mainty—Fear of incendiaries—Report that Radama was living—Cattle-stealing, and threats of the Sakalavas—Hova force sent against the Sakalavas return with captives and booty—Punishment of the reporters of Radama's being alive—Coronation and speech of Rasoherina—Appeal to her Majesty's clemency—Public recognition of the Christians—The fulfilment of Radama's treaty claimed by the French and refused by the Malagasy—Indemnity paid by the Queen of Madagascar—Liberty for worship by the Christians at Ambohimanga at the Queen's visit—Return of the court to the capital.

IMMEDIATELY after the revolution, messengers had been sent to the distant military posts, and to the heads of the intermediate provinces that acknowledged the supremacy of the Hova government, to inform them of the change, and require them to tender their fealty to the local representatives of the Hovas, or repair to the capital for that purpose.

The Betsileo, inhabiting the province of that name immediately to the south of Imerina, were amongst the earliest of those who reached Antananarivo for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to Rasoherina. Representatives from other tribes both east and west came up also about the same time. After the judges and other officers had administered the oath by reciting its fearful imprecations on traitor or rebel, and the

representatives had struck the water, or speared the calf, and their attendants had swallowed the nauseous draught—water in which the wadding of a gun, a musket-ball, and a portion of earth had been mixed, with other repulsive ingredients, the loyal subjects went, on a day appointed, to the palace to tender their fealty, and present their hasina or offering to the newly-enthroned sovereign.

On the 23rd of June the first parties were received by the queen, and we were invited to be present on the occasion. The firing of cannon announced the time of arrival, and I found some of the parties already in the court-yard as I passed through. The queen, richly dressed, was seated beneath a large scarlet umbrella on a chair placed on a small platform raised about two feet above the floor of the wide verandah at the north end of the palace. The prime minister stood on her right, and the commander-in-chief on her left. The female relatives of her majesty, and the ladies of the court, were ranged along the verandah to the right, the ministers and officers to the left, and in the space behind. The spectacle altogether was adapted and intended to make a strong impression on the minds of the strangers.

The representatives and their attendants entered the large court-yard by the northern gate, led by their respective chiefs, and walked about four abreast to their appointed places. The representatives of three important races appeared on this occasion, the Sakalavas, the Betsileo, and the Betsimasaraka, with some from smaller districts. The Be-tsi-leo occupied the centre of the court-yard below, and immediately before the queen; the others one on either hand. The music was playing at intervals while they were assembling, and when all had arrived the music ceased. Two representatives of one of the smaller divisions then advanced two or three paces in front of their friends, and looking at the queen, offered their salutations as to their sovereign, enumerated the virtues of former sovereigns, avowed the loyalty of their ancestors and tribe, expressed their thanks for

having been allowed to testify their fidelity, promised their fealty, presented their hasinas, a silver dollar, which an officer received, and wished her majesty life and prosperity.

The queen, still sitting, addressed a few kind words to them, assuring them that she relied on their fidelity, and inviting their confidence, closed by wishing them life and the blessing of God.

There was now a slight stir visible in the central body of the people, amongst whom, as with the other races, there were a number of women, and from a small party of chiefs in the front a tall, stately-looking woman, scarcely arrived at middle life, advanced a short distance in front of her followers. Her complexion was a mellow brown, her features regular, her countenance open, her dark glossy hair braided after the manner of her country, her person clothed in a bright clear blue figured dress, while over one shoulder a light red scarf hung loosely across her back and upon her other arm. Her name was Iovana—daughter and successor to the king or chief of the Betsileontanala, or south-east portion of the Betsileo, about ten days' journey from Antananarivo.

I was perhaps a little surprised when I saw her advance, but I observed there was some excitement among the officers near me, and whispers and turning round amongst the court ladies on the other side of the platform, with evident pleasure on the countenance of the queen. My curiosity was excited by hearing that she was not less brave in war, than wise in counsel, and eloquent in speech. She stood a moment or two directly in front of the queen, and after a slight bending of her figure, began in a clear and by no means a coarse voice her address,—"May you live long, sovereign lady, know no affliction, and be happy with your friends beneath the sky. We come to salute you, sovereign lady, with our loyalty, confidence, and affection." And then followed the recital of the usual genealogical and historical relations of their respective ancestors and their gods, the friendships of the past, the relations of the present, and the hopes and prospects of the future, pledging her fealty, and that

of her people. And then turning her head slightly to the Betsileo, she said, interrogatively, "Is it not so?" When the quick, sharp, strong responding, "Izàny," (that is it,) coming from the crowd as from one voice, quite startled the assembly.

Keeping her scarf over her left shoulder, and fastening it loosely under her arm on the opposite side, Iovana walked backwards and forwards in front of the people, turning occasionally to them as she spoke, while raising her right arm and using moderate but not ungraceful action, this descendant of the rulers of the Betsileo continued her oration. At length, addressing the queen in language of personal encouragement, she said:—"Your rule will be just and wise, and you have true friends. Do not think that the kingdom cannot prosper because a queen governs. Let the people see that a queen can govern well. Do not be afraid because you are a woman." And then pointing to a group of females amongst the Betsileo, she exclaimed, "We are women: we will be true to you. All the women in the land are your friends, and we will all try that the people shall be happy when a queen is on the throne."

The loud unanimous confirmatory "Izàny" of her people, spontaneously and unitedly uttered when something pointed and stirring had been said, added greatly to the effect of the speech, conveying the impression that the voice of the speaker expressed the sentiments of those around; and never more so than when Iovana thus closed her address, shortly after having tendered her basina to the officer, when she again looked up to the queen and said:—"May you live, sovereign lady, and may the blessing of God be with you;" and then bowing slightly but gracefully, she retired within the ranks of her own people. No loud plaudits, nor fluttering of handkerchiefs greeted the distinguished speaker; but there were beaming countenances, and slightly waving hands amongst the ladies of the court, and expressions of esteem and satisfaction amongst the officers and the nobles in the verandah, while the queen silently smiled with evident pleasure.

The half-brother of Iovana, who is associated with his sister in the government, then briefly addressed the queen, referring to the length of the friendship between the Hovas and the Betsileo, assuring her majesty of their loyalty and devotedness, and their desire for the prosperity of her reign. His speech, though less animated than that of his sister, was listened to with attention, and frequently cheered by their people.

The queen then in a short speech addressing Iovana and her brother by name, assured them of the pleasure it afforded her to see them, that if they had not come she should have had no doubt of their fidelity and attachment; but that she was encouraged in the charge of the kingdom by their declarations. She then invited them to repose confidence in her rule, saying it should not be misplaced, that she would protect them, their families, children, and property, and promote, so far as she was able, their safety and prosperity, as well as that of other portions of the kingdom, closing with her salutation, and her wish that the blessing of God might be with them. The Betsileo are in closer alliance with the Hovas than any other tribes in the island, and are the only tribe beyond Imerina incorporated in the Hova army.

The Be-tsi-ma-sa-ra-ka now moved to the centre of the assembly. They are a numerous and important race in Madagascar, inhabiting the country within the eastern coast from the province of Anteva, in the same latitude as the Betsileo in the south to Fenoarivo, near the Isle of St. Mary's in the north, including Tamatave, Foule Pointe, and the chief trading ports on the eastern coast. Physically the Betsimasaraka are a finer race of men than the Hovas, or even the Betsileo. They are generally above the middle stature, their colour a darkish brown, the head rather large, compact, and well-proportioned, their features less sharply defined than those of the Hovas, their eyes good, their hair not woolly nor matted like some of the African tribes, but naturally crisped or curling, bushy and abundant, and braided, arranged and ornamented in a manner

peculiar to themselves. Their limbs are muscular, and they are capable of enduring great fatigue. They furnish the greater part of the bearers employed in the transit of goods from the coast to the interior. Their speakers on this occasion were men of middle age. They spoke with ease, and one with rather more violent action than the Betsileo orators had used. After the customary salutations they thanked the queen for inviting them to the capital, that she might know their confidence in her rule, and their unfeigned loyalty to the government, as well as their earnest desires for the prosperity of the kingdom; they wished long life and happiness to her majesty, her family, and the nobles, as well as prosperity to the kingdom. They then tendered their hasina, and retired with the salutation of the queen in reply.

The Sa-ka-la-vas (pronounced Sakalav) now came forward. The inhabitants of the whole of the west coast are thus designated. They are separated into two large divisions, north and south Sakalavas, with a number of minor sub-divisions. Those present on this occasion were called Heariana, and they occupy a part of the country west of the Betsileo, and south-west of the capital. They were taller than the Betsileo, and less robust and muscular than the Betsimasaraka, their features smaller, their colour darker, their hair crisp, but not woolly, matted, nor abundant; the limbs of the men appeared sinewy, and their movements were free and agile.

The initial formula of the speeches to the queen was nearly the same in all, as was also the substance of the addresses. The Sakalavas spoke with a good deal of animation, as well as ease, using more action than the people from the eastern coast. They successively tendered their hasina, avowed their fidelity, and then returned to their companions.

The queen expressed her satisfaction at receiving their homage and fealty, and asked their confidence; declaring that she would protect them, their wives, their children, and their property. She then cautioned them against evil-disposed men,

who might circulate false rumours to disturb the peace of the land; directing them to go home and tell their countrymen that it was peace at the capital and in the east, and that it should be the effort of the government to preserve peace in every part, and to promote good throughout the land.

Refreshments were then brought by the servants of the royal household, and given to the leaders of the respective tribes, by whom it was distributed in certainly very small quantities amongst their adherents; and they then sat chatting together, while the band was playing. In a short time they rose, and there was a little more speaking—something like responses to the addresses of the queen, and thanks for the audience which had been granted to them. Two couples of the Betsimasaraka then began to dance to a sort of tune or song before the queen, viz., two women together, and two men. The women held each other by the hand, the men danced separately. The men danced in a kind of figure, passing and repassing each other; the women seemed to move to the tune more by the action of their arms than of their feet; and their movements, if not very attractive, exhibited no deviation from propriety and order.

When the first dance ceased, three couples of Sakalavas, all men, came forward, and danced in a lively and spirited manner. No strangers are allowed to bring weapons into the presence of the sovereign without special licence; but though they had no spears, they held staves or wands in their hands. With these they advanced into the open space in front of the queen, two at a time, two or three yards apart. Their exhibition was rather a sort of pantomimic acting than dancing; something like a dumb show of the process of watching in ambush, springing forward, striking the enemy, and stamping as if on his body, or retreating, if resisted. Two others emerged from the crowd before the first had finished, and seemed to carry on a kind of silent, secret creeping towards an enemy, and then the skirmish, the capture, and the dragging away of the captive. While this was going on, the third couple advanced, and then

there was attack and retreat, with the aspect of resulting triumph, all accompanied by certainly very startling and affecting representations of the changes of countenance and limbs in simulating death. But, after a few minutes, the dancers or actors all resumed their natural positions, and bowed to the queen, who rose amidst their salutations, and retired within the palace towards the close of the afternoon. Two days afterwards, the representatives from the provinces and tribes were invited to a feast provided for them at the palace, and were afterwards sent away with presents to their respective homes.

Amongst the numbers of those who came from different parts of the country to take the oath of allegiance, we believed that not a few had taken advantage of the requisition to come and confer with the Christians, and to obtain Christian books, as well as to tender their fealty to the queen, which they might perhaps have done at some military post in their own neighbourhood. We were frequently surprised and rejoiced at this time by receiving visits from Christians residing at very remote places, where we had not previously been aware that Christianity was even known.

At this time I received a letter from a chief living several days' journey farther south than those I had seen at the palace, giving an interesting account of a number of Christians in that neighbourhood, and asking for books. It was quite inspiriting to observe the evident pleasure with which the bearer of the letter received the parcel of books, a somewhat heavy one to carry probably three hundred miles to his fellow Christians in that distant region. We had heard frequently from the Christians at Fianarantsoa; and great was my pleasure when, a few days after the appearance of the people from the provinces before the queen, two esteemed Christian friends in Antananarivo paid me a visit, accompanied by the brother of Iovana, whom I had seen and heard on the occasion of their visit to the queen. My friends spoke of their companion, whose name was

Rafinana, as a sincere Christian, and I welcomed him with real pleasure. One or two of his attendants were also Christians, and he told me there were a number at the place where they lived, as well as in some of the adjacent villages. My friends visited me frequently afterwards, and informed me that their residence was more than two days' journey south-east from Fianarantsoa, and that a forest intervened.

I succeeded in obtaining a good likeness of Rafinana, and asked him to speak to his sister, as I wished to obtain her portrait, and would, if she wished it, attend at her encampment. I also spoke, with the same view, to one of the ministers; but her brother told me she could not be persuaded, that she was a firm believer in the idols and the divinations, and was told that some evil would befal her if she allowed the spirit to be drawn out of her by the charms and medicine of the foreigner. My friend was a man of gentle manners, and quiet, amiable disposition. He spent much time with me on subsequent visits to the capital, and was one of the last of whom I took leave on my final departure.

Less than a fortnight afterwards, other parties arrived from still more remote parts of the country, on the same errand, and a message from the queen invited us all to the palace on the occasion of their presentation. I found, on reaching the palace, a large company already gathered, and others afterwards arrived. They comprised parties from the neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin, more than six degrees of latitude, or nearly four hundred English miles south, from the capital; and also parties from other provinces. The principal company were from the provinces of Vangiandrano, and Anosy, as well as from the Sakalavas, and the tribes to the east. The attendance of the Court and the regular proceedings, were very much the same as on the previous occasion. The greater portion of the Sakalavas appeared to be shorter than those then present, but remarkably tough and agile men. A large number of the eastern tribes wore European clothing. The representatives of the province

of Vangiandrano were the most striking. The men were ornamented with bands round their foreheads, to which round pieces of polished shells were attached, just over one of the temples.

The most remarkable person among those present on this occasion was Raloba, the chief of Vangiandrano, who was extraordinary both in dress and figure. He moved about among the crowds in the large court like Saul among the Israelites—a head and shoulders above his fellows. His figure was thin, his head broad and rather large, his features were slightly prominent, his eyes small, his hair slightly grey, and his limbs bony but not muscular. He wore an open-breasted shirt, and above this a large native lamba. His head was covered with a singular cap, of a kind which I had heard described by the early missionaries, as well as by the natives, but had never seen before. It was of scarlet cloth, fitting close round the forehead, but drawn together, in a line about a foot across, above the crown. From this line the upper end of the cap, which tapered gradually to a point, was doubled down behind the extreme end, reaching below the waist. The cap itself was ornamented by a large solid oval piece of light green glass in front, instead of a precious stone. The edges were covered with some kind of bright yellow bordering, extending along the part which hung down, and terminating in a large yellow tassel, like the tassel of a bell-rope. His people were the first to tender their homage and their hasina. His speech was not so impressive as that of some of his subordinates, but it was acknowledged by the queen.

The addresses of the people from the neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin—Faradofay, as the natives call it—and from the Sakalavas, were animated and well delivered. One of the orators of the northern Betsimasaraka accompanied his speech by dancing along in front of his party, while expressing his and their loyalty to the queen,—a variation in the proceedings which, being meant well, only caused a little amusement.

After the speaking of these somewhat numerous parties had been acknowledged by the queen with much propriety, there was a dance among the Vangiandrano, when some of the queen's officers brought, to the evident delight of the strangers, a number of spears, and native shields, the latter made of light tough wood covered with bullocks' skins. The weapons were given to the chiefs of one of the native tribes, who selected the men to whom he delivered them. These men then advanced to the open space before the queen, exhibited their manner of fighting, after which they returned the weapons to the officers, who gave them to the heads of another race; and thus the natives of the extreme southern provinces exhibited their weapons, and their manner of using them.

The inhabitants of the southern provinces are famed, if not feared, as spearmen throughout the island, and if any of them happen to be in the capital during any season of apprehended disturbance, and at times even when the queen and court are absent at Ambohimanga, they are not allowed to sleep in the city. Men from these provinces are said to be mahay—that is, to know what to do with the spear. In the war game now exhibited, no spear was hurled, the fighting was at close quarters, and was an exhibition of personal encounter. No shouts or yells were uttered, it was silent, earnest business. When there was a little distance between the combatants, they held the spears near the middle of the shaft, but in hand-to-hand encounters close to the head of the weapon. The small sized men were selected, and seemed to be the best spearmen. Steadiness of eye and agility appeared to be of more importance than great stature or strength. One little tough-looking nimble fellow elicited immense applause, for his skill in fence and thrust. A thrust that it was supposed would have told on the person of the antagonist, had the spear not been purposely lowered, was followed by throwing up the shield in the air, and catching it, by the handle, with the left hand, as it fell. This was several times very cleverly done. The shields are cir-

cular, not large, nor fixed on the arm, but held in the hand by a handle left in the wood inside the shield. The excitement was great, both among the members of the court, and the visitors, and actors. The latter showed no inclination to leave off, until, at a signal from the officer, the weapons were resigned, when, after a short address, the queen retired, and the visitors returned to their quarters.

A person so important in position and remarkable in appearance as Raloba, did not escape my attention, and I asked one of my friends to tell him I should be glad if he would pay me a visit, when I would show him some pictures, take his own portrait, and also give him a present. Much to my surprise he agreed to come; and between seven and eight o'clock in the morning of the day fixed, he arrived, just as the light was becoming favourable for my purpose. He was accompanied by two or three of his own attendants, and by Razafinkarefa, chief commissioner of the police, under whose charge my friend at the palace had placed him. I did not venture to offer him coffee, for fear of exciting his suspicions;* but when the party had entered my house, showed him the portraits of the prime minister and others, including the chief who had persuaded him to come. The camera was already standing on the ground, and he had looked at that before entering the house. We then went to the place, by the side of a small house, where I wished him to stand. But when he stood upright, his cap was thrust in among the edges of the thatched roof, and I was obliged to fix a couple of poles, with a board across the top, to form a head-rest, as he was above seven feet high. When

* A number of natives from that part of the country were at my house one day when I was removing some jars, and as we were talking very freely, I offered one of them a piece of sugar. He smiled, but pressed his lips together, and shook his head, saying, "Take it yourself first." I asked a friend present what the stranger meant. He replied, "He is afraid of being poisoned, or bewitched, by what you offer, and the proposal to you to eat it is that he may see whether there is any danger or not." I took the piece of sugar I had offered, and ate part of it myself. He then took another piece readily, and manifested no objection to a repetition of the gift.

I just touched his head so as to obtain a good view of his face, he seemed very much alarmed; but his companions laughed and told him I was only placing him so that he might look his best, and said how pleased his friends at home would be when they saw his picture. That, however, did not seem to comfort him much. I then told him to sit down quietly, while I went to fetch something, and then it would be finished in a very short time.

The commissioner of police had locked the gate as soon as he entered, to prevent other persons coming in. I told him I was going to prepare the glass, and wished him to amuse Raloba until I returned. I accordingly closed the door of my dark-room, and heard some voices calling out while I was within, but thought the noise arose from persons who wanted to enter. When all was ready, I came out with the slide in a black bag, and found, to my great surprise, that my subject was gone. The servants and the commissioner said they were telling him that it would be over in a minute, and that his neighbour from the Betsileo country had had his likeness taken, when he replied that he came to do homage to the queen, not to have the spirit drawn out of him by the white man; and afterwards while walking about the yard, he managed to reach the north-west angle, where, before they could see what he was doing, he scrambled over the walls, dropped down on the path outside, and hastened as fast as he could up to the main road, and then home to his encampment.* I was sorry that I had failed in my object, and also that I had caused my visitor so much fear. His companions who had remained, and went out by the gate, said he did not seem alarmed when he talked about coming, and the friend whom I had asked to speak to him was the head of the idol-keepers, so that I expected he would have no fear from that source. I heard that he was rather bantered about the affair when he reached home, and not altogether pleased with himself.

* The wall was more than five feet above the ground on the inside of the yard, and the descent outside full nine feet or more to the path below.

There was another gathering of representatives from one of the great Sakalava settlements on the west coast, near Mojanga, from the inhabitants near Diego Saurez, the northern extremity of the island, and from some inland villages. I only mention it on account of the last. Their party was composed of individuals, and the descendants of individuals, who had been slaves, but personal or household servants of successive reigning families, and who, according to the custom of the country, either on certain occasions, or after a certain period of service, had been made free, had received portions of land and occasionally cattle, and had also been formed into communities occupying villages in different parts of the adjacent country. They are called mainty, literally black, but that is a frequent name for slave. When these men, the third party who came in on the same day, passed through the gate, and walked across the court attended by a number of their wives and daughters, I thought I had never seen a finer body of men. They were about seven hundred in number, and, as they marched in, their stature and bearing made them appear, in comparison with all the other companies, like a fine regiment of grenadiers. The addresses of their leaders were not long, but evidently very hearty, and were well received. The queen replied with evident pleasure, calling them repeatedly by name, and expressing the pleasure which their company afforded. The prime minister also addressed them, the only company to which any one, excepting the queen, had spoken; and their appearance and bearing produced a good impression.

While queen Rasoherina and her ministers were receiving the formal and public expressions of loyalty from the representatives of some of the important provinces of the country, and were strengthening themselves in the good-will and attachment of these tribes by their hospitality, presents, and expressions of encouragement, causes for anxiety and apprehension were soon forced on their notice, nearer home, in the capital itself and its immediate neighbourhood.

As soon as the troops, and before the non-military portion of the people, had been dismissed to their homes, all classes of the inhabitants were filled with dismay by reports that a number of dissolute and reckless men intended, under pretence of revenging the murder of Radama, to set fire to the city; a course which, for purposes of plunder and personal revenge, had been pursued in times of public commotion during former periods of their history, and had reduced to ruin a large part of the buildings. The utmost precautions were taken, and the most stringent regulations enforced. The city watch was increased from 500 to 1500 men. The evening gun was fired soon after sunset, and no fire or lamp was allowed after that hour, and no individual was permitted to be out after dark. Many families removed their valuables, and left the city in the evening; sleeping in the suburbs, and returning in the morning. My house being in a central and exposed position, at the very earnest representation of a number of Christian friends I removed the money under my charge, and for two nights sought a lodging in one of the dwellings of the missionaries at Amparibe.

These apprehensions, however, subsided, and twelve days after the death of Radama a public kabary from the queen had dismissed the farmers, and others who had come from the country, to their respective homes. But the next morning Antananarivo was startled by a rumour, no one knew exactly whence originating, but affirming most positively, and enforcing the affirmation by many plausible accompaniments, that Radama was still alive; that his death had been only apparent; that some persons to whom had been consigned the care of his body were conscious of the fact, and had concealed it until after he had been carried out of the city towards midnight; that on arriving at the place of interment, his friends had contrived to deposit some other substance with the grave-clothes, and had conveyed the king to some secret place in the neighbourhood; and that in consequence of great

care and attention on the part of his friends, he was still living, and though weak and suffering, was in a fair way of recovery.

The effect of this report on the minds of the great body of the people was almost electrical. The government immediately denied the possibility of its being true; but this did not prevent its extension, and the belief in it continued to prevail amongst a large body of the people. Efforts to find the authors of the report were useless, and a public kabary was sent by the queen, and delivered with all due formality in the public market at Zoma, on the 5th of June, censuring the people for their perversity in persisting in declaring that Radama was living, when they knew that he was dead, and forbidding, under severe penalties, the utterance of the rumour. The people acknowledged the message, but no individual changed his opinion in consequence of it.

During this state of things, a man who came from Vonizongo to Ambohimanga, declared that Radama was alive, and in that country. The man was apprehended, and was tattoed on one cheek with the words "False speaker," on the other with "Conspirator," and on the forehead with "Ratsy fanahy" literally "bad spirited," generally designating a wicked person. He was then sent in chains to labour on government works in his own country; but though his punishment made the people more circumspect in their utterances, it scarcely produced any change in their belief.

Causes of uneasiness more urgent and more alarming soon further disturbed the public mind. The Sakalavas to the west and south of Vonizongo heard with strong and equal indignation and grief of the death of Radama, their loved and trusted friend. In the paroxysm of their rage they fell upon the herds of the Hova nobles grazing in the wide and fertile border plains skirting their respective territories, killed some of the herdsmen, and drove off their cattle. Eight hundred oxen belonging to the prime minister of the new government were among the first

that were seized.* They remembered the ravages they had suffered during the late queen's reign, and expected their renewal under that of the present. They had therefore collected their forces, and invited other tribes of their race to join them, to march upon the capital, to avenge Radama's death, and destroy his murderers.

The Sakalavas withdrew to the west, and the people of Vonizongo removed with their families and their cattle eastward, nearer to Imerina; and the country between the respective territories became unoccupied and untraversed, except by armed bands. In the mean time false accounts were sent from Imerina to the people to the south and the west, stating that Radama was living, and waiting the assistance of his friends to recover the throne. This increased their ardour in his cause, and as other tribes agreed to join them, they were preparing to advance eastward towards Imerina.

No message of peace, or friendly explanation of the cause which had produced the change, was sent by the Hovas to these tribes, but a force, accompanied by some pieces of artillery, was despatched against them, under the command of two officers who had been conspicuous actors in the recent events, and the hands of one at least were considered not to be free from regicidal blood. The Hovas came upon them quickly, before their allies had arrived, and after proposing negociations, in order, as they said, to draw them together, attacked them, and with their superior arms and discipline, especially their artillery, which was said to have been masked until their opponents were wholly within reach, suddenly opened upon them, not only cutting off numbers of the men, but creating confusion, which produced a panic, with speedy defeat and flight.

The Hovas reported 2,000 of the enemy killed, and the cannons of the capital announced the victory. The troops

* It is reported that when the minister complained to one of the officers of his heavy loss in having so many cattle driven away, the officer replied, "Never mind that. Think how many Job lost."

returned soon afterwards, followed by a long line of captive women and children, and also large herds of cattle. The cattle and slaves were retained, but the women and children were sent back by the queen, who gave money to the officers in lieu of the captives they would otherwise have divided amongst themselves. It was good policy to do so, for the Hovas stood in need of friends at home, when the French were at that time threatening hostilities on the eastern coast, in order to enforce the fulfilment of the treaty and the concessions of Radama.

This act of clemency on the part of the queen, although a precious boon to the helpless captives, produced no favourable effect upon the tribes in the region from which they came, in consequence of the carnage and what they deemed the treachery by which it had been preceded. The Sakalavas of this region declared that they would make no peace with the murderers of Radama. The country around continued to be invested by robbers, and it was only in fortified villages that the inhabitants of the western parts of Vonizongo were secure from plunder, slavery, or death.

Preparations to invade Imerina from another quarter were at the same time threatened. The An-tsi-a-na-ka and the Sakalavas of the north armed, and assembled on the southern border of their province. Orders were sent to the governor of Ambohimanga to collect all the forces in that quarter, on the northern portion of Imerina. The governor took his position near the last Hova village to the north, where he received a reinforcement of 500 men from the capital. The northern tribes collected their forces near the first village in the Antsianaka, leaving an unoccupied space of a day's journey between them and the Hovas. After remaining in this position for a week, during which messages were exchanged, the Sakalavas and the Antsianaka, on the north, and Hova forces, on the south, were withdrawn without bloodshed or plunder, and peace has been unbroken since.

The punishment so summarily inflicted upon the man who had openly declared that Radama was living—though it made

the parties who believed it more cautious for a time—soon lost its effect. Kabarys on the subject were utterly disregarded, even though fifteen men were sentenced to wear heavy fetters on their neck and legs, and to labour in government work for life, whose chief crime had been reporting that Radama was alive.

In the month of July, while this state of things continued at the capital, the most circumstantial account of the king's revival after his supposed death, the neighbourhood where he then was, and his wish to obtain protection on board a British ship, should one visit the coast, appeared in the public journals of Mauritius, said to have been reported by a soldier who had assisted in conveying the body of the king to the country for interment, and had escaped to Mauritius. The name of the soldier, as given in these accounts, was more like that of an Indian Cooley than a Malagasy ; a circumstance which showed that the account did not rest on native authority.

Although the queen had been crowned by Radama at Imahamasina less than twelve months before, it had only been as his queen-consort. Her majesty had then taken no part in the government, except in its public ceremonials. She was now sole ruler, and the government deemed it desirable that there should be a public recognition of her regal position, such as they term Mi-se-ho-an-a,—literally, "showing" to the people, answering, so far as recognition by the people is concerned, the purpose of a coronation among more civilised nations.

The 30th of August was fixed for this national transaction. We all regretted that Sunday should have been the day appointed, but were told that it was declared by the diviners to be the most favourable day for any transaction affecting her majesty or her family. It was also arranged to take place at Andohalo, where the laws had already been promulgated, because the large parade-ground was declared to be an unpropitious place. A stage of wood was erected over the sacred stone, and the floor of the stage covered with carpet, and furnished with a superbly-carved chair.

At the appointed time the firing of cannon announced the departure of the queen from the palace—the road from which to Andohalo was lined with troops; and about eleven o'clock, the queen, attended by her ministers and officers, as well as by several female members of the royal family, approached the ground.

We had held our forenoon service early, in order to allow those who were required to be present to appear in their places; and, as we had been all invited, some of our number attended, and were provided with convenient seats near the platform.

Her majesty, who was superbly dressed, and wore a light gold crown, and was attended by the Princess Rasalimo, and one or two other members of the royal family, with a sort of yeomanry guard—Tsimando, bearing silver spears—ascended the platform amidst the greetings of the multitude, and took her seat under a large scarlet umbrella. Two of the idol-keepers followed with the queen's idol, which was fixed on the right hand of her chair.

When the crowd had adjusted itself, her majesty rose, and in a clear voice delivered to the people a carefully-prepared speech, setting forth her pleasure in meeting her friends, the "all beneath the sky" (the people) that God had given to her, with the land, and the government derived from the twelve kings, that they had set her apart that she might receive homage and blessing. After expressing their mutual wish to follow without change the customs of their ancestors, asking their confidence, and declaring her trust in them, her majesty then promised to protect them, their wives, and their children; the possessions of the great and the small, that all under the sky might rest in peace; that she would dwell with them; that the country left to her was large, and they were mutually responsible for its good condition. She stated that she had made known to them her laws which they had heard, and she exhorted them to observe them, for she was not careless of human life, nor of that which they possessed; and she was not a sovereign that deceived.

The speech was received with expressions of approval, and the representatives of the several classes then approached the platform, and presented their hasina or offering, with salutation and benediction. At this part of the ceremony we presented ours.

Towards the close of this procedure, two men advanced from one side of the front of the platform, within two or three yards of where I was sitting, and one of them, with great trepidation and faltering voice, looked up and addressed the queen, appealing to her compassion, and, acknowledging his privilege to stand before her, he then implored his life from her clemency, and was about to offer his hasina, when an officer standing near ordered him away, and motioned him to the opposite side, where he was taken in charge by another officer. I had observed the queen's countenance, and saw that she was a little moved when she seemed to comprehend the import of his address; but she made no sign of granting or refusing his request.

I learned that this man was one of the menamaso who had escaped when the rest were taken, and had kept in concealment until this day in order to ask his life. I understood it was a custom, that if a criminal could make his way to the sovereign's presence on such an occasion, his life was spared. Another of the menamaso had watched unnoticed at a certain turn in the road where the queen would probably be detained a minute or two, and had forced his way to the side of the royal palanquin and preferred a similar petition.

After this appeal to the queen, some of the officers and ministers expressed their loyalty, and presented their hasina; soon after which the queen descended, and returned to the palace in the same state as that which attended her arrival. I learned subsequently that the two menamaso had their lives spared, but were sentenced to labour in chains at government work for life.

The queen's aged and respected mother had died on the 22nd of the previous month, July, but as the funeral ceremonies and mourning would have interfered with the preparations for other events then in progress, no public notice was taken, and

the corpse was deposited in a temporary resting-place until after the coronation. The decease of the queen's mother was accordingly soon afterwards announced, the funeral ceremonies performed, and the body removed to the ancestral graves.

Among the public ceremonies observed on this occasion was the slaughter of a large number of cattle by order of the queen. This took place early in the morning at a spot near Fiadana. We were invited to attend, as were also the heads of the Christians. We found the prime minister and other members of the government superintending the distribution of the animals, which lay slaughtered, two, three, five, or more together, on the plain below, having been killed earlier in the morning. The distribution was directed by the minister on behalf of the queen, and commenced with the highest classes, and then the several divisions of the people. The heads of the Christians were called about the seventh in the order of distribution. The representatives of the congregations came forward, and seven of the animals lying together were pointed out to them as the gift of the queen on the occasion of her mother's funeral. They acknowledged the present, and, attended by their servants, and others, proceeded to the spot where the cattle were lying. The officers then went on with the distribution of the rest. There were upwards of seventy animals altogether.

Our friends attached much importance to this proceeding on the part of the queen and the ministry, not only on account of the acceptableness of the gift to the poor families, but as a public recognition of the Christians, as a distinct body in the community; and its influence was favourable in diminishing the fears of the timid, and increasing the confidence of the Christians generally, whose numbers steadily increased.

In the mean time events of serious character and import pressed upon the attention of the government and the whole population. During the previous month M. Lambert and Commodore Dupré had arrived. The Commodore had written

in the most friendly manner to the queen proposing to proceed to the capital to make a new treaty with the existing government with the same conditions as the former, or to receive their engagement to fulfil the conditions of the treaty already concluded.

The government replied that they wished to make certain alterations in the treaty entered into by Radamá, and invited the commodore to the capital to arrange such alterations. Commodore Dupré then wrote that he could make no alterations, and that unless they acceded to the existing treaty, and to M. Lambert's claims, he could hold no friendly intercourse with them, and they must be responsible for the consequences. The Hova authorities sent up word from Tamatave that the French refused all intercourse, and returned all presents of fresh provisions, and other manifestations of hospitality which they had been accustomed to receive. Under these circumstances the government invited the French Consul, and one of the officers of the government who was considered a great favourite with the French, to go as their representatives to the commodore, to persuade him to refrain from hostile proceedings, and to come to the capital and confer with them on the changes they wished to make. But the messengers returned without having obtained any more favourable terms.

The associating of the claims of M. Lambert with the conditions of the treaty with the Emperor, rendered it impossible for the government to comply with the Commodore's requirements without exposing the country to a civil war. M. Dupré wrote soon afterwards intimating that he might be obliged to commence hostile proceedings; and the British Consul informed us of the probability of difficulties arising between the Malagasy and the French which might endanger our safety, and suggesting the desirableness of our removing from the capital. We waited on the French Consul with the intimation received from Tamatave, and he assured us that in the event of hostile operations occurring, it was not likely that they would extend

beyond the port, but that under any circumstances we, as British subjects, would on no account be molested; and as it did not appear to us likely that the capital would be affected, we remained at our post.

The Malagasy government wrote to that of France, expressing their desire to remain on friendly terms with the French, their inability, without risking the peace of the country, to carry out the engagements of Radama with M. Lambert, but their willingness to make reasonable compensation for any loss occasioned to M. Lambert and the company. They also wrote to the English government, asking their good offices in securing a just and peaceable termination of the business.

The French subsequently retired. Several communications passed between the two governments on the subject, and since my departure from the island the French have claimed an indemnity of 240,000 dollars, (£48,000), towards the payment of which the queen furnished 140,000 dollars, and borrowed of the nobles and the people the remaining 100,000. An outbreak of officers and people in consequence of this demand appeared at one time imminent. The precautions of the government prevented this, but could not remove the deep sense of the wrong which they were called to bear.

The whole of this money was sent off in September, 1865, with the condition that the original document should be returned, when the payment was made. The French officer was unable to comply with this condition, and the money was deposited in the battery at Tamatave, under the care of the governor, until the document applied for should be produced. This being at length delivered to the authorities at Tamatave, the money was paid, the officers sent with it returned, and there was a feeling of relief throughout the whole community, when even at this heavy cost this cause of disturbance was removed.

On the 24th of September, the queen, accompanied by the members of the government and the court, went to Ambohimanga. Whether the object of the journey was religious, poli-

tical, or personal, was not stated, but everything was most scrupulously arranged, and the path, which in many places deviated considerably from the public road, was indicated by the diviners.

There were many Christians amongst the officers and others who accompanied the queen, and we were not without fear, that they might get into trouble, by not abstaining from their accustomed Christian observances, in this idol-devoted place. Our relief and thankfulness were therefore proportionally great, when, early in the following week, tidings from our friends informed us that, on the morning of the first Sunday, the queen said to the servants who attended her—"Arrange among yourselves, you who are Christians, for half your number to be at home during the forenoon, the rest may go to the worship of the Christians; and let those who remain at home in the morning go in the afternoon, for it is right you should attend your own worship on your sacred day."

The Christian officers and servants in the queen's household did gladly as they were told. They also informed us that there were large congregations gathered outside the gates of the city, on both parts of the day, and that some of the officers in attendance on the queen were among the preachers. Her majesty has ever since, except on special occasions, pursued the same honourable course, in arranging for her servants to attend public worship on the Sunday in the capital, or elsewhere.

This occurrence at Ambohimanga, trivial as it may appear, was at that time of great importance, showing to the Christians that their confidence in the queen's word was not misplaced—may it never be so; and also showing to the votaries of the idols that, even there, there should be no interference with the privileges of the Christians. During the same week we had opened our large central model and training school under encouraging circumstances, and we felt hopeful for the progress of our work.

The government, fully aware of the extent and strength of the

opinion among the people that Radama was living, had taken extra precautions to secure the city against the designs of incendiaries or others during the absence of the Court, by leaving a greater number than usual both of military, and of watchmen with ladders, and other appliances for extinguishing fire should it appear. I was repeatedly and specially warned by friends not to go out of my house, even into my courtyard, after dark. The watchmen mustered in a hollow in front of my house at sunset every evening; and the junction of the north, south, and eastern roads immediately above my residence, was covered with tents; the barriers of the city were all guarded, and no one was allowed to enter after dusk. The rumour about Radama at this time was that he had left the north, and was seeking shelter in the east, or making his way to the coast.

The Court, after remaining a short time at Ambohimanga, returned, and found everything secure in the capital. I happened to be at the central school as the procession passed along the road in front. Three or four officers on horseback led the way, and immediately after the band were a number of keepers and adherents of the idols walking and dancing with somewhat loud singing or shouting, and much gesticulation. The queen's idol, a slender rod with two long strips of scarlet cloth like pennons hanging from the top, was fixed in her majesty's palanquin. A number of singing women followed. The prime minister and the commander-in-chief, in richly embroidered uniforms, rode next on horseback. The members of the government, of the court, and their attendants, followed, the whole procession reaching from Andohalo to the palace.

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure of the Malagasy embassy for England and France—Visit to the Queen's cottage and gardens at Mahazoarivo—Pic-nic in the garden—Rifle shooting—Christmas Day in Madagascar—Gathering of the Christians—Procession and address to the Queen—Missionary retrospect of the year—Arrival of helpers in the work—Foundation of the hospital—Difficulty about deposits in the foundation-stone of the memorial church—Foundation-stone of the church at Ambatonakanga laid by the prime minister—Difficulties attending the erection of such buildings—Illness and death of Mr. Stagg—Sorrow of the children—Kindness of the Queen—Madagascar an important and inviting field to the Christian teacher—Illness and death of Mrs. Pearse—Kindness of the Sisters of Charity—Cruel law of selling by auction the wives and children of criminals—Opening of the first place of worship within the city—Commendable conduct of the Christians towards their slaves—Influence of the Gospel on the conscience in reference to the relationships of social life—Character of the Christians in Vonizongo—Statistical notices of the Christians at Ilafy—Attempts to charm away sickness from the capital—Preparations for the feast of the New Year—The Queen's bathing, and the feast of concord—Family customs.

THE government of Madagascar, anxious to preserve their friendly relations with England and France, and, if possible, to adjust amicably the differences with the French government respecting the claims of M. Lambert, sent, early in November, two officers as ambassadors to Europe, in hopes of forwarding thereby the desired arrangement. These officers were cordially received by the English government, were introduced to the queen, and noticed by many of the nobility. They visited Aldershot, Woolwich, and other places of note, including Manchester, and received from Earl Russell the draft of a treaty which it was hoped would cement the friendship between England and

Madagascar, and with which they returned in the following year. It was evident that they had been gratified by the kindness and attention which they had received from Lord Palmerston and the members of the British government. They also received much kindness from Sir John Anson, Bart., the Hon. A. Kinnaird, and the Directors of the London Missionary Society.

A few days after the departure of the embassy, we were invited to accompany Queen Rasoherina and her friends to a pleasant retreat on the margin of a small lake, situated about two miles from Antananarivo. Here the first Radama built a somewhat elegant cottage, near the edge of the water. Here, also, he formed a very pleasant garden, in which he collected all the trees which had been introduced by foreigners into Madagascar, and also many of the remarkable trees of the country. On the margin of the lake he planted rofia trees, and stocked its waters with turtle and various kinds of fish. When the cares of sovereignty allowed him leisure, Radama had often sought recreation and pleasure in his garden, and it is still a favourite place for a sort of pic-nic, or transient visit of the royal family and their friends. On joining the party on this occasion, I was exceedingly pleased with Mahazoarivo, as the pleasant retreat is called, and which I had previously visited in 1856. There were a number of peach and other trees which appeared to want pruning, but the loquat, orange, and citron were thriving remarkably well, and the number of vines under culture had greatly increased since my former visit. One of the feeders of the river Ikiopa nearly encircles the spot, and, with the lake, adds much to its attractions.

On returning from a tour of part of the ground, I found the prime minister and his brother superintending the distribution of a couple of fat oxen which had been killed to furnish the more substantial part of the pic-nic. Then after visiting a stone building, the flat roof of which commands a fine view of the surrounding cultivated fields, and lakes, and streams, and wall-encircled villages, I found the company gathered together in

groups under the very pleasant shade of trees, where breakfast was being served when I returned. Her majesty and the ministers were within the cottage. My place was with the family of the second military officer. The grassy turf was our seat, and freshly-plucked green banana leaves served for table-cloths. *Déjeûner à la fourchette* our repast was not; but a pocket-knife and a spoon did good service, and the company were all very merry at the extemporised *fête champêtre.*

We afterwards walked to the lake, where some of our young companions pointed out the shooting-ground. Rifle corps were becoming very popular in England, and the young chiefs had probably seen some account of them in the papers, especially the illustrated ones, and some of the officers and others who were amateurs were forming a sort of company for rifle-shooting. In their practice here they fired across the lake, where it was about two hundred yards wide. I asked the young men who were with me what the target was. They said it was a sheep or a goat tied to a tree; and on my remarking that they must not expect the enemy to let them catch him and tie him to a tree before shooting him, they said no, but if they hit the animal when it stood still, they could afterwards kill it when in motion. They said they were only learning to shoot. It was here that I met the French consul, for the first time since the revolution. Happening to refer to Radama, I told him I had read his letter published in the London "Times," on the subject of the late king's death, with much approbation, as it seemed to me a correct account. He said he had endeavoured to make it so.

During the season of persecution, the Christians had been accustomed, if practicable, to observe Christmas Day as a season of rejoicing; and since the accession of Radama it had been a season in which tokens of remembrance were exchanged, and social and religious gatherings were arranged. For the former of these purposes it was even observed by some who were not Christians. As Christmas Day approached this year,

the heads of the Christians expressed a wish to pay their respects to the queen, and her majesty signified her pleasure to receive them.

Early in the morning of that day the congregations assembled in their respective chapels. The places were all crowded, though the services were finished soon after eight o'clock. (I heard that some of the people had slept in the chapel all night, to be sure of a place in the morning.) As soon as the services were over, the people proceeded, some of them singing as they went, to Andohalo, the place of public assemblies. I had gone home for some refreshment, when, before nine o'clock, a messenger brought word that the Christians were assembled, and, in company with some of the missionaries, I proceeded to the place of gathering. On our way we met the prime minister and some of the nobles going to the palace; but the road was so thronged with Christians that their bearers could with difficulty press through the crowd.

On reaching Andohalo, an animating spectacle presented itself. On the slightly elevated sides, and in the northern part of the centre of this natural amphitheatre situated in the heart of the city, not fewer, certainly, than seven thousand Christians were assembled. Some were standing or leisurely walking to and fro, others sitting under umbrageous and fruit-bearing fig-trees. Fathers and mothers, with their children, were there; young men and maidens, pastors and their spiritual flocks, all in their holiday attire. All seemed perfectly at ease and conscious of security, while the grateful joy of the heart seemed to beam in every countenance, and find utterance in every greeting.

While the leaders of the Christians were arranging the several companies, we proceeded through the crowded way to the neighbourhood of the large palace, and were soon followed by the Christians, walking four abreast. Among their front ranks were civil and military officers of 13th and 14th Honours, officers of the palace wearing their broad pink ribbons, as

well as others of lower rank, mingled with pastors, preachers, and deacons, followed by the whole body of the Christians, the men walking first and the women afterwards. Joining with them, we led the way to the palace, the general residence of the queen. Here the Christians filled every available spot of ground in front of the balustrade, within which the royal seat was placed. The members of the royal family and officers were ranged on the left; the ladies in waiting, the ministers and members of the government, on the right.

When the queen, who looked remarkably well, came out of the palace, she was welcomed with hearty greetings by the vast assembly. As these subsided, several parties of singers sang what may be termed the Malagasy National Anthem, a hymn imploring the Divine blessing on the queen. An officer then advanced a little in front of the rest, tendered the salutations of the Christians to her majesty, and presented the customary hasina, which the queen very cheerfully acknowledged.

The choirs belonging to the several city congregations afterwards sang with good effect several hymns and anthems. Rainimamonjisoa, an intelligent, gifted, and influential officer, also an aide-de-camp to the prime minister, then stood forward and, in the name of his fellow Christians, addressed the queen with much readiness and force, assuring her majesty of their gratitude for their privileges, of their devotedness to the government, and earnest desire to promote the welfare of all classes. The queen made a short and approving reply, and by gestures as well as words assured the vast assembly of the satisfaction which their presence and the declaration of their attachment had afforded. The high officers and other members of the court appeared surprised and pleased with the singing of the Christians; and after the latter had again sang the national anthem, her majesty rose, and re-entered the palace about twelve o'clock, amidst the cordial greetings of the multitude, who then returned to their respective homes.

I learned afterwards that the queen and the members of the

court were surprised at the numbers, rank, and general appearance of the Christians, and that the interview had left a good impression on the minds of the government and the spectators in the city.

Other grounds of hope for the future were not wanting as this most eventful year approached its close. One of our earliest places of worship had been recently rebuilt on a larger scale; and sixty communicants had been added to the church worshipping within its walls on the day on which it was opened. Our central model school was becoming increasingly attractive. The children of the ministers of the queen were among its pupils, and it contained from 150 to 180 scholars, while day and Sunday schools had been opened in connection with some of the chapels. During the year the labours of the press had been resumed; and besides school and other books, we had published an almanack for the ensuing year, the first periodical ever issued in Madagascar.

Our numbers had also been increased, first by the arrival in September of Mr. Cameron, who had formerly laboured many years in connection with the earlier mission, in teaching the youth of Madagascar, about 200 of whom had been placed by the government under his care to work in wood, in building, and in other branches of skilled labour. When the former queen prohibited Christianity in the country, the government sought to retain Mr. Cameron, and a lay member of the mission, who taught the natives to work in iron, and would have paid them to stay; but they replied that they taught the people their respective crafts as a means of promoting their civilisation, and inclining them to receive the more important teaching of Christianity; and as that was forbidden they could not remain. They accordingly removed to the Cape of Good Hope, seeking by their own efforts the support of their families there. At the latter place, Mr. Cameron had been appointed surveyor of Cape Town, had erected public and other buildings, and in compliance with the wishes of the

directors and my own invitation, had come again to Madagascar to undertake the building of the memorial churches, for which work, excepting in drawing the plans, his practical experience and his knowledge of the country, of the language, and the people, well qualified him.

Two missionaries, out of the four appointed by the directors, had arrived with Dr. Davidson, who had gone to Tamatave to meet them, and to assist them on the journey. These, together with Mr. Sibree, who had been subsequently appointed as an architect to prepare plans, and superintend or direct the erection of the churches, had all reached Antananarivo.

Dr. Davidson had completed a new dispensary which the nobles had generously assisted to build, and which proved a great addition to our means of influence for good among the people; tending to disarm their prejudices, and secure their confidence and gratitude. It also helped to bring the gospel to a large class who would not have been reached by any other agency. Above three thousand patients had already been prescribed for, out of the number who had applied.

Dr. Davidson, anxious to extend his medical labours as widely as possible, and having obtained promises of assistance in materials, &c., from the government and the nobles, prepared to commence the erection of an hospital for the receiving of patients, &c., hoping that the institution might in time become in part self-supporting. The foundation stone was laid by the prime minister on the 6th of January, 1864: on that occasion refreshment was provided in a tent on the ground, in which the thermometer stood at 110.

The prospects of peace in the country, and the promise of the government to give us valid titles to the sites, encouraged us to commence the erection of one of the memorial churches, that at Ambatonakanga; and as it appeared desirable to place within the foundation stone a statement of the objects of the building, &c., I prepared a brief account; but, as some very

peculiar ideas are current amongst the people about burying written or printed paper in the ground, I submitted it to the brother of the minister; and I also proposed to enclose among the deposits the Report of the London Missionary Society. I saw that the minister was alarmed at the bulk of the book, and observed that it was not necessary to enclose anything else besides the statement. He then said, "Is it necessary to put any paper at all in the stone?" I said, "Not by any means. The building will neither be more sacred nor more secure for anything we can put in the stone; it will stand quite as well, and quite as long without it, only it is a custom with us to do so, to tell some future generation, if that stone should be disturbed, by whom, and for what object the building was raised. He appeared quite relieved, and we finally agreed that nothing should be deposited in the foundation stone.*

As we had found the heat so oppressive at the hospital, we fixed nine o'clock in the morning for the ceremony at the church. A large crowd had gathered early, and I succeeded in obtaining a photograph of the scene before the great man who was to lay the stone arrived. When all was ready, I descended into the trench with the prime minister, and spread a little mortar to show him how it was to be done. The stone was then lowered, and I told the minister how to proceed. As soon as he had followed my directions, the stone was declared to be laid, and we ascended. I then delivered a short address to the people, and when a hymn had been sung, Mr. Cousins closed the proceedings with prayer. We then proceeded to the large house

* Every injury experienced is supposed to have been caused by the malign influence of some superior invisible power. Witchcraft also is the imagined source of many calamities; and it is supposed that the depositing of paper with writing or printing upon it in the earth is offensive to the invisible beings on whom the abundance and quality of their crops are supposed to depend. Hence the uneasiness manifested by the minister in prospect of the public depositing of any document or pamphlet in the foundation of the church. Not that I supposed he believed in anything of the kind; but he did not want to give the heathen party what they would deem a cause of complaint, should the ensuing crops prove less favourable than usual.

of a member of the congregation, which I had borrowed for the occasion, to partake of breakfast. All the officers, except the prime minister, who was detained by illness, were present, as well as the missionaries.

The owners of the house and the servants had prepared an excellent breakfast, to which the company did justice. The commander-in-chief, in acknowledging a toast, said it gave them much pleasure to be associated with us, as they were assured our aim in all our endeavours was the good of the country. The conversation was unusually free and animated. Our guests appeared quite frank and unrestrained in the expression of their opinions. We discussed points of their own history and traditions, and they asked about our country,—where the English got all their money, and whether they gave what they gave for missionary purposes of their own accord, or were commanded to do so by Queen Victoria? And they could scarcely understand why the English Christians should do so of their own free will.

It was some time past noon before the company left. I was gratified to have secured the public sanction to our erection of the church, which their presence and the actual public commencement of the building by the prime minister had given, as well as to have had their company afterwards. It encouraged my hope that if they did not help, they were less likely to hinder, our work. As most of the workmen were Christians, and felt an interest in the building beyond that of their mere employment in its erection, I was glad to make it a day of rejoicing to them, and to give them a bullock, which they killed, divided, and took home to make a supper for their families.

The building of an hospital for from twenty to forty patients, with the requisite offices and appurtenances in a country where such a structure was unknown, and little more than the raw material in the crudest state existed, was a different affair from what the erection of such a building would be in a country of more advanced civilisation; but Mr. Cameron's experience

acquired in former years, his influence with the workmen, his practical acquaintance with the work required, both as to its quality and cost, greatly diminished the difficulties. The hospital, and the doctor's house, which Mr. Cameron undertook to build, were to be of unburnt brick, floored with tiles, and protected by a verandah.

The erection of one of the churches was a still more difficult work. It was to be of stone, well-built, so as to be lasting, not a fancy structure overspread with ornament, but solid, chaste, and simple in its style, so as to be suitable for the purpose for which it was built, and creditable to the Christians in England who were presenting it as a token of their appreciation of the heroic constancy of the martyrs, and a means of perpetuating the remembrance of their stedfastness and faith by future generations who in happier days should become followers of Christ.

In England the execution of such a work would require knowledge, experience, and judgment; and much more so in Madagascar. No contract could be made here for delivering stones from the quarry, rough or prepared. There were no timber-yards where the wood required could be selected and purchased; no lime-burners from whom that indispensable material could be obtained. Lime existed, but in small quantities, and was a government monopoly. This was the first work of the kind ever undertaken in Madagascar. Tombs and gateways of stone had been erected, but no church had been attempted, so that the workmen had to be directed and trained to the work; when they worked for the nobles they were constantly under inspection; and the difficulties of erecting the first church were greater, and required closer attention than any that might be afterwards undertaken, when the masons should have become accustomed to the work.

I had been too much connected with the commencement and progress of the effort to provide these memorial churches, not to be desirous that they should be suitable and well-built structures.

However well qualified professionally Mr. Sibree, the architect sent out by the directors, might be, he was necessarily unacquainted with the language, and the usages of the people. I therefore cheerfully devoted as much time as possible to the interpreting and explaining of his wishes to the workmen, to the making agreements for the quarrying and preparing of the stone, purchasing the timber, and obtaining the lime, as well as paying the workmen, and keeping the accounts.

The Malagasy are early risers, and always get their work well on in the morning, and feel the day comparatively broken unless they begin soon after sunrise. The government bell rings very early every morning, to call the slaves and others to their work. I was at first often on the ground soon after sunrise, and was always there once, but oftener twice in the day, glad to render every assistance in my power to obtain materials, or to prevent imposition as to charges, &c., until Mr. Sibree's acquaintance with the language rendered my assistance no longer necessary. It thus devolved upon me to purchase most of the materials for building the church; and sometimes we had specimens of limestone brought from a distance of many miles; while my own journeys in search of this necessary material were somewhat extended.

Besides these and many other occupations, I acted as treasurer for the directors, in paying for labour as well as materials, both for the church and the hospital.

Gratifying as it was to resume the work connected with the churches, the preparations for which had been interrupted since the revolution, and encouraging as were many aspects of the mission, we were not without causes of affliction and sorrow. The health of Mrs. Pearse, who had arrived with her husband scarcely four months before this time, had already become such as to afford but little hope of her being able to remain. Mr. Stagg, also, whose health had not been good during the voyage out, had suffered from fever soon after his arrival, as well as subsequently. In January, 1864, his illness assumed a more

serious character, the attacks of fever becoming more violent, until the 5th of February, when he found rest and peace in death.

The parents of the children who had been his pupils, and many of the Christians, manifested much sympathy with Mr. Stagg during his illness. The children, they said, were filled with sorrow, fearing his loss. The commander-in-chief came to visit him while living, and after his death sent cloth for a pall at his funeral. The queen, having heard of his illness through reports of the weeping and lamentation of the children, sent two officers to visit him with a present of three dollars, as an expression of her sympathy with him in his affliction; and when I placed the pieces of money in his hand, and he had been made to understand it was from the queen, he seemed surprised and pleased, endeavouring to give some expression to his feelings by their own graceful word—"Veloma." The present was in accordance with one of the good and commendable customs which prevail amongst the Malagasy. It is usual with them when a friend or neighbour is ill, to visit or send to them, and to give or send small presents of money to assist in providing anything that may be needed for the sick.

In the case of Mr. Stagg all the alleviations that sympathy and the most constant medical attention could supply had been given, but without avail. During the latter part of his illness he was seldom sensible for any long period together, and sometimes the violence of delirium was truly distressing to those who, night and day, were watching at his bedside. But though the intervals during which his mind was calm were few, yet they sufficed to show that his soul was stayed on his Redeemer, and his mind supported and comforted by the cheering words of Christ. An evening or two before his departure, he asked Mr. Pearse, who was sitting with him, to read a portion of Scripture. On being asked what portion he would like, he said the fourteenth of St. John's Gospel. He then asked Mr. Pearse to pray with him. In the prayer he appeared

fully to join, as in the Amen at the close. He scarcely spoke afterwards.

Our brother was removed to his last resting-place in the burial-ground for foreigners, where his remains were laid by the side of those of the first missionaries who had died in the field. We felt deeply this first breach made by death in our ranks, so soon after the resuming of the mission, especially in connection with so important a charge as the care of the Central Training School. Our departed brother had acquired great influence over the young, but his health seemed from the first scarcely equal to a department of missionary labour which makes such large demands on the physical as well as mental energies of the teacher.

The missionary brethren attended daily, as long as they were able, at the central school; but the post which the death of Mr. Stagg left vacant still remains so, although I have recently heard that an efficient teacher has been appointed to fill it. May he be richly endowed with every qualification which the important post requires. It is not a teacher of languages that is so much needed, as an ability to acquire thoroughly the native language, and use it to nourish and strengthen the minds of the scholars. My own opinion of its claims and requirements are certainly not less than they were when informing the directors of the London Missionary Society of the death of Mr. Stagg. I expressed my views to them in the following terms:—

"Few more important and encouraging spheres of labour can be presented before any one anxious to devote life, and all the endowments with which it may be associated, to the service of Him from whom every good gift is received, than that which Madagascar offers to the Christian teacher. The mind of the youth of Imerina seems at present plastic, and ready to receive the form and impress which the labour, affection, and piety of the Christian teacher may impart, and which, it is to be hoped, future generations will mature and perpetuate. Germs of truth and wisdom planted now in a mental soil by no means

ungenial or sterile, may be expected, with God's blessing, to yield precious and blessed results for generations yet to come. Our earnest hope, our fervent prayer is, that our Divine Lord may enable those with whom rests the decision, to send forth a labourer of a sound constitution and a warm loving heart, as well as one possessing a correct and clear view of the nature and extent of his work; not only as a teacher of children, but as a trainer in mind, character, and labours of those who are to be, so far as he is able to qualify them, the schoolmasters of the nation.

"Our departed brother's expectations, I believe, were not disappointed as to the ability and acquirements of those under his training. One has already the charge of an important school. Stations are ready for others so soon as they shall be qualified to fill them. We also feel the need of a thoroughly efficient schoolmistress, almost as much as a master for the training school.

Mrs. Pearse, whose whole heart seemed to be in missionary work, who acquired the language with great facility, and who appeared to possess many endowments for efficient service in the mission, reluctantly left us about two months after Mr. Stagg's decease. With the intention of returning to England, she and her husband had succeeded in accomplishing the journey from the capital to Tamatave, when a sudden accession of illness arrested their progress, and terminated her sufferings and her life. At Tamatave, where no medical assistance could be had, every alleviation which female skill and kindness could afford, was promptly and cheerfully given by the sisters of charity connected with the Roman Catholic mission at Tamatave. They were the only European females there, and their kindness was gratefully regarded by the bereaved husband, who returned to his labours at the capital.

According to both law and custom in Madagascar, when the head of a family is found guilty of any crime which involves

banishment and confiscation of property, the members of the family, wife, children, and slaves, are frequently involved, as well as the cattle. The crimes of the menamaso were said to be such as to involve not only the destruction of their own lives, the plunder of their effects, and the demolition of their houses, but the seizure of whatever property they might be possessed of, and the public sale of their wives, children, and slaves.

Soon after the revolution, I had some conversation on this subject with one of the high officers, a member of the government, and an enlightened and humane man, who had been in England, and professed great admiration for European usages. I said I wondered at their retaining such an unreasonable and unjust custom, which inflicted penalty for all future life on a perfectly innocent child for its father's crime, and that in the case of the Christians the wife was sometimes sentenced to slavery for the husband's offence, though she might not have been a Christian. He said it was not a custom that could be justified, but it was their mode of inflicting a pecuniary fine. They knew that the relatives would redeem the parties sentenced to slavery. I said that could not justify the risk of sentencing the innocent to suffer, supposing there should be no relatives, or none willing to redeem those who were innocently sentenced; and that so long as such a law or custom continued, civilised nations would regard their code as unjust, and their habits cruel.

Slaves are usually sold by private contract, or at Zoma, the large weekly market. But since the revolution there had been several sales of slaves by auction by the side of the public road, within twenty or thirty yards of my house. The auctioneer and a number of persons with him, and others attending the sale, occupied the courts in front of the houses on the upper or eastern side of the road, where the ground was five or six feet higher than the road. A stone wall was built on that side of the road three or four feet above the yard inside;

Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis.

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SLAVE MARKET IN THE PUBLIC ROAD, ANTANANARIVO.

and close up against this wall the slave to be sold stood upon a stone immediately beneath the place where the auctioneer stood, within the yard. The other persons attending the sale stood in the road.

When the sale began, the slave stood up, and the biddings were called out loudly, amidst a good deal of clamour and noise. When a slave was purchased, he or she was bid to step down from the stone, and given into the hands of the purchaser, and then another was called up. The slaves waiting to be sold were generally huddled together on some steps at the north end of the wall. The slaves of the menamaso were sold soon after the revolution; but for four days in the middle of February, nine months after the destruction of their fathers and husbands, numbers of chiefs were employed in selling the wives and children of the menamaso; and on the 13th of the month, the Christian widow and two children of Rainiketaka, the minister of justice, were publicly sold by auction within twenty yards of my house, in one lot, for twenty-four dollars. I recollected how I had seen the husband and father of those slaves standing by the side of the sovereigns on the day of the coronation, and how, two or three days before, I had walked in company with Captain Anson, when he had lead, one by each hand, those two little girls to Mrs. Toy's school, on their admission as pupils.

The widows and children of the menamaso were all purchased by their friends, and restored to liberty, so that the sale was only the means of exposing the innocent individuals to public shame, and extorting their price from their friends, to be added to the spoil divided amongst those who had been engaged in the destruction of the dead.

The strange and extreme vicissitudes of human life here, were it not for what had passed under my own observation, would seem scarcely credible, and the spectacles of the last few days had been to me deeply afflictive. I did not venture near the place of sale, lest I should be tempted to ask the

officers if they had no wives and children of their own, or to say something that might have offended them, and perhaps have injured the innocent and helpless victims of their heartless rapacity and insulting cruelty. I did not, therefore, interfere. Before the sales ceased, I succeeded in taking a view of the scene, while they were engaged in their heartless traffic, without their perceiving what I was doing, or I think they would have removed from the place; for it is not a transaction which they attempt to justify to us, and generally avoid any reference to it.

We still continued to hear occasionally rumours that Radama was still alive, and efforts were made to discover their authors, and to prevent such rumours being repeated. Others did not see any harm in people saying that he was alive if they had heard so, and that they ought not to be put to death for that. The survivors of the menamaso, and any friends of the king remaining in the capital, avoided as much as possible appearing in public, and seemed to desire to be forgotten; while amongst other classes the opinion appeared to be increasing, that other motives besides patriotism had contributed to bring about the revolution.

Although we had obtained two new and spacious chapels in the northern and eastern borders of Antananarivo, we had still no place of worship within the city, where the population is most dense and least Christian; and we had no means of securing any until the government requiring a building which the late king had given to a number of Christians at Antsahabe, a village to the east of Faravohitra, the leaders of the congregation then proposed to erect a place of worship in a most eligible position, near the north-east angle of Andohalo, and only a few yards distant from the prime minister's premises. One of the leaders of the congregation possessed a piece of ground on the spot, and the prime minister allowing them to occupy an additional piece belonging to himself, we considered the situation so desirable that we helped them to complete the

building; and in less than a fortnight after the sale of the widows and children of the menamaso above referred to, the chapel was opened for public worship. Mr. Toy and I preached in the morning and evening of the Lord's Day to congregations of not fewer than six hundred on each occasion, though there were but very few from any of the other congregations. Some members of the prime minister's family were present, and he himself was afterwards occasionally seen there.

This chapel being situated in the midst of a dense population, and at some distance from any other place of worship, has been the means of extending Christian influence amongst the people, and leading many to unite themselves with the Christians. One of our number always administered the Lord's Supper, and we took part in the services on Sunday as often as we could, until the arrival of Mr. Hartley, when, at the request of the people, he became their mpitandrina, or overseer.

I had also assisted the Christians residing in the neighbourhood of the rocky precipice, down which the martyrs were hurled, to build a temporary place of worship near the edge of the rock, that they might gather the nucleus of a Christian congregation there, to worship ultimately in the memorial church which we proposed to erect on the spot. This building, which was also within the city and near the palace on the western side, was nearly completed, and we were proportionally cheered by these additional means of prosecuting our great work in the most important parts of the capital.

Notwithstanding these additional places of worship, increasing numbers continued to attend those previously existing. Few months passed in which members, varying from five or six to thirty or more, were not admitted to the ranks of the Christians by baptism, and in somewhat smaller numbers to the communion of the several churches. Many were officers, some of high rank; others belonged to the non-military class; but from both classes the chief part of the additions consisted of

young persons, either such as had recently entered upon the responsibility of social and married life, or were about to do so.

It was not, however, from the upper classes alone that accessions to the Christian ranks were received. Many in connection with the congregation with which I was associated, as well as with others, were slaves; and I had often occasion to note the wise and generous care of the Christian owners for the spiritual welfare of their slaves, in encouraging and arranging the duties in the family, so that they might attend public worship, and in assisting them in their inquiries after truth. Not unfrequently a Christian master has come with his slave to bespeak my considerate attention when he wanted to make inquiries in reference to his desire to be baptised or admitted to the communion. I have also seen the kind-hearted mistress on these occasions sitting by the side of her female slave, perhaps putting her hand on her shoulder, or speaking kind encouraging words when they have been received into the fellowship of the Church; and although the slaves usually select a place for themselves in the church, I have seen a recently-admitted slave sitting at her mistress's side or at her feet at her first communion, the mistress evidently pleased to see her there. And when that slave has come with another slave and their friends to enter into the married state in the house of God, I have seen that same mistress sitting by her side, looking, if not expressing, her benediction on the union. By the non-Christian part of the people slaves are kept at a great distance, but where I have beheld sights such as these they have enhanced my estimate of the blessed influence of the Gospel on the different relations of life, and the effect it produces in drawing close together the children of God's great family. Such little kindly attentions are amply repaid by attachment and fidelity. Many of the slaves who attended the martyrs or other Christians in their sufferings during the seasons of persecution have been treated as attached and inseparable friends by the relatives or survivors for the remainder of their lives.

It was thus, without much to attract public notice, that new buildings for religious worship arose, and that the number of the Christians continued to increase in the capital; while at the same time letters and visitors from other parts of the country informed us of corresponding progress in regions far beyond the range of our personal efforts.

The tidings from the remote stations were sometimes as remarkable for the evidence they supplied of the power of the Gospel on the conscience, and its influence over the conduct, as for its continued extension. An illustration of this occurred in connection with an officer of distinction at Fianarantsoa. This individual lived, before his knowledge of the Gospel, as other heathens lived. A number of wives, or of those who scarcely stood in the rank of wives, prevailed amongst all classes, and was regulated by law. This individual had several vady kely, as such individuals living in the state adverted to are called. The relation had been entered into when all were heathen, and it was neither esteemed unlawful nor in any way disreputable. Most of these persons, including this officer, became Christians; and although no European missionary had ever been there, and no correspondence had taken place between them and any of the missionaries on the subject, they became convinced that, for Christians, their manner of life was wrong. The chief, influenced, so far as we could ascertain, solely by the requirements of the Gospel, stated that it was not right for them to live together as they had done; and it was arranged that one of them should continue to live with him as his wife, and the rest return to their respective homes, with the provision which he made for their suitable maintenance.*

Such was the decision at which these Christians at Fianarantsoa arrived among themselves from what they deemed to be

* No stain rested on the characters of those who, while in a state of heathenism, had entered into this relation; and when, under the Christian law, it was discontinued, they were received with affection and esteem by the Christian families to which they belonged, rather than repelled or avoided.

the teaching of the New Testament on this sometimes difficult question. Some of these females were connected with families in Antananarivo who had become Christians, and were members of the congregation with which I was connected. They were sent home honourably, under the care of a trustworthy subordinate Christian officer and his attendants. These men frequently visited me during their stay in the capital, and they also stated that the cause above mentioned was the only reason for the separation which had occurred. I do not recollect having met with a more striking instance of the power of the Gospel on the consciences of those who had received it than this occurrence afforded.

This subject occasionally required our attention in the government or discipline of the churches, but it proved less difficult than we had apprehended. Some living in the state described were found who had been admitted to Christian communion before our arrival, and we did not deem it necessary to recommend their exclusion on that account. We inculcated that no Christian man could marry more than one woman, and that no Christian woman could become the wife of a man who was already married. In reference to those who had entered into that state while both were heathen, we recommended them to live according to the word of God—one man and one woman, as man and wife; that the man who had more than one should live with one only as his wife, and should set the others free, making provision for their support; but we did not require on the authority of Scripture that they should separate, especially if one of the parties continued heathen and did not consent. We also stated further that, although the relation might have been entered upon when they were heathen, it did not appear seemly to us that they should come to the Lord's table while living in a state which was not according to the original institution of God, and we generally found that, after a season, this recommendation was sufficient. Instances in which this habit of life was voluntarily discontinued from regard to considerations

arising out of the requirements of Christianity produced considerable effect upon the heathen, as evidence of its power over those who received it. This was the result of the proceedings at Fianarantsoa, one of our remote stations, and nearly two hundred miles distant from the capital.

Mr. Toy, besides his stated labours in teaching and preaching at Ambohipotsy, had, in compliance with earnest invitations, been to a number of important villages in the southern part of Imerina, and had initiated among them regular Sunday services, sending native preachers, whom he had trained for the work, to minister in their congregations, and visiting them himself as often as possible; and though fatigued by the long distances which he had to travel, he was abundantly compensated by the progress of the people. Mr. W. E. Cousins had also visited in the same manner some of the Christian villages in Vonizongo, distant a day's journey and a half to the east.

The early missionaries appear to have attended well to the instruction of the people of the western district of the province, and Mr. Cousins was delighted with the earnestness and intelligence of the Christians, as well as with their simple and devoted piety. They are not numerous—perhaps about six hundred, many of them respectable men, and distinguished in general by their knowledge of Scripture, and the gravity and integrity of their Christian character. They suffered severely, nobly, and steadfastly for their faith during the seasons of persecution, and a number of them were amongst the most distinguished martyrs. I had much intercourse with them afterwards; and though many, especially the children and survivors of those who had suffered for their faith, seemed to be not unacquainted with poverty, they were patient and unrepining under their privations and sufferings, and anxious to communicate the knowledge of the Gospel to those dwelling in the regions beyond them. Their country was greatly exposed during the agitation and disturbance that arose after the death of Radama, and they now only feel safe from the incur-

sions of the Sakalavas in their fortified villages. The accounts of the nights of peril and fear from marauders which they sometimes passed were peculiarly affecting; but the continuance of peace will, it is hoped, prepare the way for the communication of the Gospel to the Sakalavas in the west, especially as some of the Hova officers and soldiers in that quarter are Christians.

From the villages near to us in the north we had also much encouragement. Some of the missionaries had visited Ilafy, a beautifully situated royal village, built on the summit of a broad-based hill, and sheltered by gigantic and umbrageous trees. This village belonged to the late king, and in former times was long the residence of the chiefs who ruled over a wide tract of the surrounding country. The visits of the missionaries had cheered the people there, and revived their Christian zeal. One of their early efforts was to provide for their spiritual improvement by erecting a new and enlarged place of worship. Having decided to attempt this work, and having sought the Divine blessing on their endeavours, they then considered what they could do themselves. They next drew up a statement of their numbers and their means, and sought assistance from the Christians connected with the several congregations in the capital and the neighbourhood.

I was much pleased with their appeal, originating, I believe, amongst themselves. In the brief statement preceding the list of contributions was the following historical and statistical summary, which was sufficient to set forth the truthfulness of their appeal. The translation is as follows :—

What the Christians in Ilafy endured during the time of darkness (persecution).

4 Christians were hunted, seized, and put to death.
3 ——— died in fetters.
2 ——— died from the tangena, or poison.
4 ——— took the poison, but survived.
25 ——— continued steadfast to the end of the persecution.

38 Christians at Ilafy during that time.

260 added to the Christians since the light (liberty) of teaching and worshipping came to the land.

298 Total number at the time the appeal was issued. Of these

87 are communicants.
51 have been baptised, but are not yet communicants.
160 have not yet been baptised.

298

This appeal was successful. Mr. Pearse, the excellent missionary at Analakely, now exercises a friendly oversight of their church and congregation, and visits them frequently. They have completed one of the best furnished village chapels in the country, which, when I had the pleasure of preaching at the opening service there, was well filled with the residents and their visitors.

The above statement of this people is interesting and instructive as showing probably the average number of Christians in the villages around the capital during the season of persecution, and the proportion of those who actually suffered during the time of darkness, as they designate it. More than one third of the whole were tried for their lives on account of their faith, and very nearly one fourth were put to death because they were Christians. If the experience of the Christians of Ilafy be regarded as setting forth that of other Christian villages, it will assist us in understanding the severe ordeal through which, in the very commencement of their religious life, the Christian villages of Ankova had to pass. The addition to their number after the proclamation of religious freedom, which they speak of as the coming of the light, will serve to show the blessed results of that change within three years after it had occurred.

The frequent additions to the places of public worship, and the steadily increasing number of the Christians in the capital, could not but be regarded with disfavour by the heathen, and every two or three months there were active, but transient, efforts to attract notice and revive attention to the idols.

The present season had been unusually wet, and there had

been much sickness amongst the people. The heathen party pretended that the idols were displeased, and unless propitiated the sickness would increase. One of the idols was carried in procession through the principal thoroughfares of the city; and, on returning from Ambatonakanga, one Sunday after the morning service, about this time, I perceived a number of idol-keepers with a few attendants passing to the east from Imarivolanitra, along the path which marks the boundary of the city; and I observed that they deposited something along the sides of the path while muttering what might be incantations as they went along. My companions, the Christians returning from the morning service, told me they were depositing medicine or charms along the boundaries of the city, to protect the inhabitants against the sickness. They took no notice of us, and we passed on in silence; but I sometimes thought when I saw them on the road, that the spectacle of the streaming throngs returning into the city after the morning services at the large chapels in the northern suburbs, could be to them no hopeful sign for the revival of the power of the idols in the land.

Notwithstanding the perfect liberty enjoyed by the idol-worshippers, and the outward respect shown to them, as well as the sanction afforded by the queen's personal recognition of their claims, and by the restoration of idolatrous observances in high places, there was a perceptible decline amongst the votaries of the idols, although they occasionally appeared in somewhat imposing processions. The Christians wished that so many of the public ceremonies and engagements were not fixed by the diviners to take place on the Sunday. They, perhaps, thought that the diviners selected that day in order to prevent their attendance on public worship, as on most of these occasions the officers and others connected with the government are required to attend at the palace, or take part in the ceremonials.

There was evidence of such feeling at this time in connection with the approaching annual festival of the new year. This ancient observance Radama had discontinued, excepting so

much of it as related to the sending of presents and greetings of affection and friendship, and the meeting of families together, as on the occasion of Christmas Day. The observances connected with the feast of the new year extend over a number of days, or even a longer period, but especially three days—the day before the close of the year, the evening of the last day of the year, and the first day of the new year, which is the great day of the feast.

It was fixed by the diviners that the coming year should begin on the first Sunday in March, consequently the observances commenced on the Friday. On the day before the last of the year, crowds were seen entering the city early in the morning, followed by their slaves bringing bundles of firewood of two kinds, very different from that sold in the market all the year round. One kind consisted of bundles of short spreading branches of trees, seldom thicker than a man's thumb, having all the bark carefully removed; the other, of a large kind of heath or of birch, unpeeled. They were brought from persons residing in the country, and presented to the sovereign. Others of a similar kind were brought for the nobles by their tenants, or the occupiers of their lands. Large quantities of poultry were also brought in the same way as presents to the sovereign and nobles. The respectable people in the capital present themselves in the palace during the day to pay their respects and their hasina to the sovereign.

Having been informed that it was customary for foreigners who might be in the capital to show this mark of respect, we went at the time specified. Her majesty, who on this occasion wore the native costume, consisting chiefly of a splendid purple-coloured lamba, received us graciously; and having been requested to express the congratulations of my brethren, I said, after the usual salutation and allusions to the cause for rejoicing, that we thanked God for favourable seasons, fruitful fields, and for general peace, health, and life, which were all gifts from Him. That we thanked her majesty for allowing us

perfect freedom in our work, for guarding the liberty of the Christians; and assured her majesty that we implored on herself the blessing of the living God, and had no other wish for her or her country, than the prosperity of her reign and the happiness of the people. We then presented our hasina, and receiving in return the queen's gentle veloma—may you live—we retired, accompanied by several of the officers.

Numbers of persons from the different parts of the capital, and some from the adjacent villages, were seen throughout the day going with their presents and congratulations to the queen. The commander-in-chief paid me a visit in the afternoon, and said that the prime minister and himself wished me to be present at the ceremony of the bathing which takes place at the palace on the close of the year.

The next day was appropriated to the distribution of presents, and during the forenoon two officers came to say that the queen had sent an ox as a present for the missionaries on the feast of the new year; and on looking out I beheld a fine large animal from the royal herd. After returning our acknowledgments, I sent the animal to the custody of a friend at a short distance in the country until after the Sunday, when it was killed and distributed.

Idolatrous ceremonies were formerly connected with this festival, such as the sacrificing of a cock at the close of the year, to signify that the last blood had been shed, the last sacrifice for the year offered, and that the guilt or defilement of the year was removed. Whether this had been offered or not I did not hear. I had been invited to what might be called the feast of concord, the eating of the sweet rice and jaka after the bathing of the sovereign. I went about sunset; and when at length we entered the great hall or room in the large palace, this lofty and spacious hall, dimly lighted by glass chandeliers, was filled with apparently two or three thousand men. It was altogether a native feast. The men all appeared in native costume, generally in the brightly bordered red or brown silk lambas. Mr.

Cameron and myself, with two or three French gentlemen from the consulate, were the only individuals in European dress.

Near the north or eastern end of the hall, which is the sacred part in every house, there was a sort of temporary raised hearth, four or six feet square, in which was a brightly burning fire, of what seemed to me fragrant wood. In a short time the queen entered from the north door, wearing the royal scarlet mantle, and on her head an ornament apparently composed of a number of silver balls. Her majesty saluted the people, and having received their acclamations in return, sat down on a rich scarlet carpet or cloth against the north wall of the room. The vast assembly then sat down on the floor, Mr. Cameron and myself together in the places assigned to us. A little to the left of the queen her female relatives and ladies of the palace, members of the royal family, took their places, the ministers and other members of the government on the right. No one sat near her majesty, either in front or by her side.

Representatives of the several orders in the state, the members of the royal family, nobles, judges, military officers, landed proprietors, and heads of the people then, one of each class separately, advanced to the place near which the fire was burning, and presented the congratulations of the season and their hasina to the queen; and at the time specified by the officer who directed the proceedings, we, as well as the French, did the same.

While the queen was thus engaged, two large round earthen jars containing water, and a rude kind of ladle, formed by a gourd or cocoa nut shell with a stick fixed in it for a handle, were brought in with great ceremony, an officer walking in front of the bearers by whom these vessels of antiquity were carried to the north-east corner, the most sacred place in the hall. These vessels, I was informed, had belonged to the father of the first Radama, the founder of the present dynasty. Other vessels of water were afterwards brought in the same stately and formal manner. These appeared to be preparatory to the bathing.

Another officer then entered with two or more deep earthen pots or pans, which were placed on stone trivets over the fire. Water was poured into these vessels, to which rice was then added. The queen now rose, with her female attendants, and followed by the officers of the palace, walked to the north-east corner of the room, where two tall officers held, with their arms stretched out, a large scarlet cloth, so as to screen that corner of the hall. Behind the screen thus formed her majesty bathed.

In a few minutes the queen emerged from behind the screen, her head and face wet, as if just as she had risen from the bath. The whole assembly instantly greeted the sovereign with their benediction or wish that she might attain old age. A signal was then made to an officer at the door, and the booming of the cannon along the sides of the hill, announcing to the inhabitants of Antananarivo that the queen had bathed, authorised them to do the same. While the cannons were firing without, the queen walked through the crowd within the palace, holding a small, nicely curved, and beautifully polished black horn filled with water in her left hand, from which with her right she gracefully sprinkled water on the people on both sides as she passed slowly along, and also when she reached the door upon those who stood outside. In answer to my inquiries I was told that this part of the ceremony had no reference in its signification to purity, but was intended as a promise or sign of rain throughout the ensuing year.

By this time the rice was cooked.* And now an extremely rude kind of iron ladle, said to have belonged to the founder of the dynasty, was brought in the same ceremonious manner. The rice was then taken out, and after being mixed with honey was first put into a gilt dish and placed before the queen. To the company it was then served in large oval dishes of silver, and when these were all in use, in porcelain dishes, and

* In these earthen vessels, made by the natives, the rice is cooked in about twenty minutes, and, before the introduction of clocks and watches, it was customary to describe the distance of one place from another by saying it would take one or more cookings of rice, as the case might be, to walk there; and so in relation to the notation of other short periods of time.

these not being sufficient it was served on broad freshly gathered plantain leaves.

There was on this occasion no jaka, or beef preserved from the last year's feast, as none had been made in Radama's reign. I did not notice whether any of her own family partook of the sweetened rice out of the same dish with the queen; but the company gathered, three or four or more round each dish, partaking of the rice, exclaiming "Samba! samba!"—happy, or favoured, and then transferring it to their neighbours, until all had partaken. I did not observe any of the company putting the rice on their heads, which is sometimes done. This eating together is designed to express the perfect goodwill and concord of the parties thus associated. The act of eating jaka with any one is regarded as a pledge of amity, a sacred bond of mutual friendship. When the company had partaken of the rice, the guns were again fired to inform the people that the queen had eaten of the rice, and that they might cook and eat their own. Soon after this the company rose, saluted the queen, and retired. It was raining heavily when we left, and I noticed several of the officers and others taking off their gaily bordered silken lambas as they approached the door, and folding them up, then rushing out, and exposing themselves in their under garments to the rain, in order to preserve what might be called their state dress.

After the bathing in the families, which followed that ceremony in the palace, it was formerly customary for each family to call to mind and weep for the friends and relations who had died during the year then brought to a close, so that lamentation and mourning might be heard in almost every house. Heads of families also, on these occasions, recounted to their households the deeds of former days, the exploits and honours of their ancestors, and thus by tradition preserved from oblivion the memory and renown of the generations before them.

CHAPTER XV.

Early religious services on New Year's morning—The city one vast slaughter-house—Family visiting and New Year's rejoicing—The monthly meeting at Ambohipotsy—Appearance of smoke on the way home—Proximity of the fire to my own dwelling—Agitation and alarm among the inhabitants—Methods adopted to drive off the falling flakes of fire—Removal and preservation of the goods—Fierceness and rapid extension of the burning—Destruction of a new place of worship—Absence of the owners of the houses—Extreme want of water—Confused and comparatively useless efforts of the spectators to arrest the fire—Extensive and terrific aspect of the fire—Extent and nature of the ground—Numbers and excitement of the spectators—Appearance of the fires by night—Acknowledgment of Divine protection—Soldiers and watchmen—Aspect of the scene in the morning—Visits of congratulation and condolence—Inutility and danger of prohibiting the erection of any but buildings of wood in the city—Aid towards the erection of a new chapel—The Queen's visit to Ambohimanga—Rumours of Radama's being alive—Arrest of officers and soldiers—Enquiries respecting the communicants—Marriage ceremony in Madagascar among the heathen—Introduction of Christian marriage—First public Christian marriage in Antananarivo.

THE rain which had been falling so heavily as we returned home on the Saturday evening was followed by a bright clear Sunday morning, the first day of the Malagasy New Year. According to notices previously given, our congregations assembled early, in order to avoid the difficulty, not to say danger, to the women and children, from the oxen that would be driven through the streets later in the day.

I went to Ambatonakanga about sunrise, and found the congregation already assembled, welcoming the Sabbath and the New Year's morning with songs of praise. The usual morning services were performed by the native overseer and myself. The congregation were attentive and devout; and it appeared to me that the circumstances under which the new year opened upon

the people produced an exhilarating effect, for there was an air of joyousness throughout the congregation which it was pleasing to behold. Several of the slaves wore new dresses, presents from their relatives or friends.

Being the first Sunday in the month, it was the season for celebrating the Lord's Supper, and at the close of the service, a little before nine o'clock, notice was given that the ordinance would be administered at three o'clock in the afternoon, as by that time there would be no cattle in the streets, nor other cause of inconvenience.

As I returned home I saw fine cattle standing in several of the court-yards, while in others they were being killed; but there were still a number in the roads, being driven to the several places of slaughter. I was thankful for a few hours' rest in my own house, in such quiet as the shouting and noise of the slaves still employed in driving and slaughtering the animals would allow.

At the palace, and in connection with the dwellings of the chief nobles, separate places near their residences existed for the slaughter of cattle; but in general the animals are killed in the court-yard, or near the house of their owner. Within half-an-hour afterwards, however, so completely is everything cleared away, that except where there may have been a small space of ground stained with blood, and newly raked over, there was nothing to indicate that a bullock had been slaughtered there. But though such was the appearance of the place, that whenever an ox had been killed in the compound in which my own house stood, and in others which I was accustomed to see, the circumstance that it was a mark of the good standing and respectability of a family to have its own bullock killed at home for the feast, and that sometimes two or more families united in providing a bullock, and also that the climate required the animal to be killed on the day on which the meat was to be eaten, seemed to convert the city for the time being, from the palace downwards to a certain level, into one vast slaughter-

house; and although the people had means, by extra or repeated cooking, of preserving the meat beyond the first day, the atmosphere, before the week was over, was not in some places the most fragrant.

Throughout the Sunday there was not much quiet in the city, but our place of worship being in the northern suburb, we were not disturbed in our afternoon worship, and communion service, nor when a neighbouring Christian family united in our household worship in the evening. The whole population was celebrating the feast of the New Year, the Christians in grateful acknowledgments to God, that notwithstanding the changes they had witnessed, the new year opened upon them in peace; the heathen rejoicing in the season set apart by their ancestors for feasting and gladness.

The next day was spent by the people generally in putting on their best apparel, in making visits to their friends, and in giving small presents as expressions of goodwill, or mementoes of affection. Many of the nobles and others sent me presents of jaka, or beef, which enabled me to add to the comfort of some of the poor Christians, as well as to allow my servants to make merry with their friends.

Large companies of people who had come in from the country to visit their friends in the capital, fathers, mothers, and children, the overseers, and slaves living on the plantations, came to visit their landlords, or masters, and were all welcomed at this season of general rejoicing. Some of my friends brought the members of their establishments in the country with them, when they came to pay me their New Year's visit. Others brought Christians from the villages; and sometimes relatives who were heathen, as well as Christians, united in paying these visits. The feasting and the family gatherings continued two or three days.

The visitors in due time returned to the country, and as the rainy season was drawing to a close, the people were generally busied in their plantations or rice grounds. The government

were frequently occupied in the inspection of troops, in re-distributing them in the country, and in reviving strictness of discipline; and except for the extent to which we still felt the loss of Mr. Stagg's services, and the mournful affliction of Mr. Pearse, nothing occurred to interrupt the progress of our work.

On the second day of May we held our united monthly meeting for prayer and for the spread of the Gospel. The day had been unusually hot. The place in which we assembled at three o'clock was oppressively close. The temporary building erected here during the previous year had become too small for the numbers now attending, and they had for some time past been employed in constructing the walls of another building about two feet outside of the existing walls; and as the new structure was of earth and stone, and at that time about five feet high, it interrupted the draught, and made the place almost intolerably close, there being perhaps eight or nine hundred persons inside, besides numbers crowding round the doors and windows.

Mr. Toy, Mr. Cousins and myself, had, with native ministers, taken part in the services, which were closed a little before five o'clock. I had proceeded about twenty yards on my way home, when I saw a cloud of smoke rise up a little to the west of the large palace, and near Ampamarinana, the Tarpean Rock. A cry of fire was raised on both sides of me, and a number of youths rolled up their lambas and sped away, over fences and enclosures, towards the edge of the mountain, to ascertain whereabouts it was. To me the volume of smoke appeared too small, and the colour too light, to come from a dwelling-house, and I thought it was only a heap of rubbish or straw. None of the young people returned, for they could not see the house. My bearer thought the fire was near our dwelling, and we hastened on until we reached a turn in the road near the house of Prince Ramonja, a little to the south of the palace, when I saw an immense column of black smoke shoot up in the air straight as a line immediately before me, a short distance to the west of the large palace.

Before we reached the walls of the palace yard, the large fire-bell was ringing, the alarm drums beating, two of which I had passed on my way. Officers were gathering on the steps of the palace, and soldiers were running thither, and forming a line round the palace wall outside, while the road was already crowded with people hurrying towards the spot where the fire was furiously burning. My bearers had been for some time running at the top of their speed, exclaiming, "It is our house." I had thought it was too high up the mountain side for that, but I now saw it was fearfully near. The crowd readily made way for us, and on entering the premises, I found I was the first of the residents within our compound to witness the imminence of the danger. I instantly ordered the servants to shut the gates and admit no one but members of the family, until the master and mistress should arrive. They, with many others from the neighbourhood, had been attending a meeting nearly a mile distant.

My dwelling was situated on the western declivity of the mountain, and on the side of a hollow or valley, from fifty to a hundred yards across, and widening down from the crest of the mountain towards the large parade ground below. This hollow is called Antsahatsiroa (the valley of which there is not a second). Across this, and a little nearer the top of the hill on which the palace stands, two large, high-roofed, two-storeyed houses of wood, covered with thick thatch, in one of which the fire had originated, were already crackling and blazing most furiously. Flakes of burning thatch, rising up to a considerable height in the air, then spreading in different directions, and falling while still ignited in the yards, or on the dry rush-thatched roofs of other houses, seemed to paralyse the inhabitants of the neighbourhood with alarm and terror. The former house which I had occupied for eighteen months after my arrival was only separated from the burning pile by a path a few feet wide. The inmates removed the cooking house which stood next the wall, and then scrambling on to the steep roof, spread wet mat-

ting over the thatch on the side next the burning houses, only a few feet lower down the declivity. The wind, which was light and variable, blew at this time from the house, or it could not have been saved. The burning flakes of thatch had by this time ignited the nearest of two large houses which stood opposite my own dwelling, and some of the large buildings to the south and the west were already on fire.

As soon as I realised the actual danger, I commenced gathering into boxes or baskets the loose papers, books, and other articles spread about in the rooms which I occupied, which were at the end of the house nearest the fire, and I felt the heat increasing perceptibly from the burning pile opposite. The owner of our premises, his brother, and other members of the family, soon arrived, naturally in a state of great agitation. His first act was to place two trusty servants at the outer gate, and one at the inner and smaller gate, with strict orders to admit no one but members of the family and known friends. A number of his servants from one of his estates in the country happened to be in the city on that day. These, under the direction of some Christian friends, he sent out upon the roof of the house, to remain on the parts nearest the fire; and in the meantime he ordered the female servants to bring all the matting they could find on the premises. This was wetted and spread on the thatch; while another party of men servants fetched water from the nearest pond, which was carried in a barrel up the staircase to the highest window in the roof, so as to keep the part next the burning houses saturated with water. There were thirty or forty young plantain trees growing round the border of the compound in which the house stood. They were cut down, and handed to the men spread over the roof. These held the young trees in their hands by the stalk or stem, and with the broad green leaves whisked away the flakes of fire which might otherwise have fallen on the crisp, dry thatch. Other men stood at the angles and centre of the roof, each with a light bamboo cane, about eighteen feet long, with a bunch of

green boughs, or long rushes, or grass tied to the end of it, to intercept the fall of any burning matters higher up on the roof than could be reached by the young plantain trees. My host generously gave some of these trees to the owners of the neighbouring houses, one of which had more than once taken fire, but had been stamped or torn out by the men on the roof.

In the meantime the mistress of the house also, with some female relations and servants who had that day come from the country, had directed the different articles standing or spread about in rooms to be put into empty boxes, bags, or baskets, and removed with the bedding into a large lower apartment in the centre of the building. My own bearers and other servants assisted in bundling together my things; and a number of Christian men from our congregation came and carried all the packages and loose articles, tables, chairs, boxes, camera, &c., outside to the open space to the west, where friends took charge of particular articles, such as my writing-desk, &c.; while a number of kind Christian women stood in a circle round my pile of goods, holding each other's hands, as they said was their custom, to prevent any evil disposed person, such as generally contrive to find or make an entrance on such occasions, from carrying off any of my property. By these means every article of any value was carefully watched; the greater number being piled up at the western extremity of the compound, ten or twelve yards from the house. Mr. Parrett and others of our party were active in their endeavours to guard and save the property from the burning houses on the opposite side of the valley.

Meanwhile the fire had been extending with a rapidity and fierceness that was truly appalling. Occasionally while employed in collecting and removing my things from the house, when the crash of a burning roof sinking in, or a blazing wall of massive upright timbers, falling with flaming sweep like the breaking of a billow of fire, had sent, with almost explosive report, a large number of sparkling brands or torches into the air, I had turned

to gaze for a moment on the fearfully grand but terrific conflagration; I was more than once startled by the celerity with which a house, after becoming ignited, was first one pyramid of flame, and changing like a dissolving view into a large kind of flaming bird-cage, then sank into a heap of red burning logs and charcoal.

I happened to be looking with great anxiety at our recently completed chapel at Ampamarinana, on the edge of the Tarpean Rock, when I saw a small flame issue from one corner of the roof of a newly erected dwelling-house close to it. I hastened into my house for another load of things, and on coming out again, certainly in not more than five minutes, the roof of that house was one mass of flame, and in another almost equally short space of time the upright posts which formed the sides and ends of the house stood blazing like a stockade around the fallen burning roof within. The next time I looked two or three posts were still standing, and a burning heap was all that remained.

Close to this house was our nice new chapel. It was a temporary building which had been erected to gather the nucleus of a congregation to occupy the memorial church which we expected to erect near the edge of the rock over which the martyrs had been thrown. Our new chapel was to have been opened for public worship on the following week; but standing next to the burning house just fallen, it caught fire and was soon a heap of charred and smoking ruins. The Christians, many of whom had lost their own dwellings, saw in the destruction of the chapel an additional cause of sorrow.

The house to the west of the two large buildings immediately opposite mine was occupied by some Arab traders recently from the west coast of Madagascar. Their house was said to contain a quantity of spirituous liquor and bags of money, as well as a large quantity of cloth and other merchandise; and an unusual noise, with suddenly increased height and force and brightness of the ascending flames during the burning of that building,

excited the greatest fears for all the houses in the vicinity still unburnt, but they did not take fire. The wind was exceedingly light, and blowing in part towards the plain; or, so close are the houses in that quarter, and so inflammable and dry are the materials of which they are built, that if there had been much wind, or in a southern direction, a large portion of the city must have been reduced to ashes.

Owing to the number of persons on the top of our house, and the large supply of water, no part of our roof took fire, though pieces of burning thatch and sparks fell more than once upon those in the same line, and only a few yards distant; and the fire kindled and blazed out on the roof of a house at the end of ours, and farther than our house was from the fire, on the opposite side of the hollow.

The owners of the demolished houses were few of them at home at the time. Some were in the rice grounds, superintending the gathering in of the grain, for the season was mid-harvest. Others were on duty as military officers at a distant post; and reached the spot only to see heaps of ashes and timber, where, in the morning, they had left their comfortable dwellings, and a great part of their earthly possessions. The houses had most of them been left in charge of slaves, aged persons, or others too young to be of service in the field. The immense crowds who gathered around from all parts of the city appeared content to gaze with excitement and awe at the appalling spectacle; and the comparatively few who made any attempt to stop the flames, satisfied themselves with running to and fro, tearing away doors and windows, partitions and floors, rather than cutting the bands which held on the roofs of the houses, and pulling down adjacent buildings, so as to confine the fire within the limits already occupied.

It appeared to me that if they had but removed the thatch from one large house to the eastward, in the roof of which the fire smouldered for nearly half-an-hour, a large proportion, if not all the buildings to the west might have been saved. But there

were none self-possessed enough to see what required to be done, or with sufficient influence over others to engage their co-operation. No fire brigade has yet been organised in Antananarivo. No Beard has yet been born in that city, where the long droughts, the materials of which the houses are built, and the closeness with which they are packed together, as well as the destitution of water in all the higher parts of the place, render the ravages of fire as fearful as they can be in any part of the world.

On this occasion some called out for mats, others for water, to convey which I saw nothing made use of larger than an earthen jar, or a hollow bamboo, and in their confusion some carried water in still smaller vessels. Some called for axes and hatchets to cut away the doors and windows; others for ladders to ascend the roof, but few of these were forthcoming. Some few, however, did set their servants or friends to cut the bands which fastened the thatch to the rafters. This could be easily done on the inside, and then the whole side or end of a roof slid down in an unbroken mass, and could be easily removed. All the houses treated in this way were preserved, the rafters only of a few being charred. The houses stood on terraces on the southern side of the hollow. The chairs, tables, doors, windows, cupboards, and floors torn away from the burning houses, were thrown promiscuously over the terrace wall, in some places heaped up so high, and so near the ignited houses, that I feared they would ignite, and spread the fire still further. None of the soldiers were present, or even near. They were all drawn up around the palace yard and adjacent buildings belonging to the government, the latter of which were probably too near to have escaped, had the wind increased, or changed ever so little to the west.

So long as my own house and property were in danger, I had been scarcely sensible of anything but the burning masses before me, certainly not of the crowd drawn together by the exciting spectacle. But as the sun descended towards the distant

horizon, happening to look up towards the north, I beheld one of the most novel and remarkable spectacles which I ever witnessed. On the top of the nearly perpendicular rock which forms the boundary of the enclosure in which my house stands, is a sort of low parapet wall, which runs along the side of the road. The top of this wall was covered with broken lines of human heads and faces, in some places two or three deep. The rock beyond the road presents a rugged or inclined ascent to the premises of the commander-in-chief. The whole face of this rock was crowded with spectators. Then another line of faces surmounted the wall of the minister's inclosure, and heads and faces filled up the parapet and standing place over the arched gateway. The high road and the court-yards to the west and the south were equally thronged; while within the commander-in-chief's premises, the windows in the roofs of some of the buildings, and even the ridges of the roofs, displayed excited gazers. It was a vastly different but almost as novel a sight as the burning buildings below on the opposite side.

The shadows of evening now began to descend, but the still burning buildings spread their red and lurid glare over the surrounding objects. The scene of the fire extended to a distance of three or four hundred yards in length, and over five or six successive terraces or platforms of different elevations to the high ground on the south.

The extent and uneven surface of the ground over which the fire spread; the sun-dried and readily igniting materials of which the houses were built; the solid massive quality of some of the large timbers; the form of the houses singularly narrow and lofty; the free passage for the air from the ground to the roof, notwithstanding the intervening floor of the upper storey; the total want of water as well as of all means of applying it, rendered the burning piles before me, one of the most fierce, rapidly spreading, and terribly appalling conflagrations I had ever witnessed. Till fresh roofs ceased to become ignited, no one could tell which direction the flames might take, or where they would end. While danger

was at a distance the owners of buildings did not hasten to unroof them, and when the danger approached it was too late. I saw flames burst out in some of the roofs while men were beginning to break open or chop away the doors below, and every slight breath of passing air seemed to increase the panic of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and the wild excitement of the spectators. Even in those great centres of civilisation, where experience, science, skill, and courage combine to diminish the destructive ravages of fire, we often have to feel the impotency of man in presence of the elements of nature, but among communities like the Malagasy, such conflagrations come—sudden, swift, resistless, like the touch of a destroying angel, leaving desolation and ashes behind.

Darkness succeeded day without any intervening twilight, and by the light of lanthorns we brought our goods from the grass plot into the house, none being more than slightly damaged; and when we were all again beneath the cover of our unconsumed roof, we knelt down together, and one of the native preachers who had been with us throughout the evening, offered appropriately and fervently our united thanksgiving to God for our deliverance, and then after many congratulations and acknowledgments on our parts to our friends, they returned to their several homes.

There was no moon. The night was still and cloudy, and as I repeatedly looked out upon the scene of desolation, the sites of the consumed dwellings seemed like a succession of hearths covered with still burning embers, over which lines of red and brilliant light appeared to pass whenever a gentle breath of air swept fluttering over them. The tall stout central pillars of the houses, some of them forty feet high, which continued erect after the other parts had fallen, were, during every puff of wind, illuminated to their summits by differently coloured tongues of flame, or they showered down sparks of fire like those of a rocket, as they were struck with the axes of the men who were cutting them down. Soldiers and watchmen were appointed to

guard the goods which had escaped the flames, or to save any spars or wood that might be worth preserving, and their shouting and noise were continued through the night. Slaves kept watch within an outhouse on our premises, and on others in the neighbourhood, lest a wind springing up during the night should fan the smouldering charcoal into flame, and produce a wider desolation. There was however no wind, and a slight shower towards morning rendered the danger less imminent.

On looking out across the valley the next morning, one dreary scene of blackened walls and fences, and steep naked precipices, with heaps of still smoking charcoal, and here and there a tall, black pillar of wood, marked the position of what had on the previous day been comfortable human habitations. The owners of the different houses were gathered round the respective sites, searching for property lost in the fire. Many valuable articles, and a considerable amount of money were said to have been stolen, either during the night or in the grey dawn, for such occurrences as that of a great fire are harvests for thieves, of whom there are no lack in the city, and of whose depredations the inhabitants appear to be as much afraid as of the flames.

The whole city appeared to be early in motion on the morning after the fire, and the chief part of the Christian families came to visit us, with their congratulations on our merciful preservation. They then crossed over to express their sympathy and condolence with the sufferers on the opposite side, many of whom were Christians, but few, if any of them, were very poor.

Slaves were busy during the greater part of the day piling up the charred timbers, shovelling the charcoal into heaps, and carrying it away in baskets for fuel. Tents were pitched on several of the sites in the course of the day for the slaves of the families who had been burned out, and sometimes for the owners themselves; but in general the latter found shelter in the houses of their relatives or friends, where they received a frank and cordial welcome. I heard several statements of the number

of houses consumed. It was certainly not fewer than fifty, and I am not certain that that estimate included the cooking houses, and dwellings for the slaves, which are generally separate buildings. Three other fires of small extent occurred while I was at the capital.

In the morning, while the owners of the houses were looking about amongst the ruins I noticed a couple of goakia, or large black and white crows, which had had a nest on the ridge of one of the highest houses, wheeling in long slow circles over the blackened ruins, as if in search of their home; and lower down a number of pigeons, probably also burnt out, that seemed to be looking about for their former domicile. So that, to say nothing of more domesticated animals, the fire had proved a calamity to others besides the owners and residents of the houses.

The inhabitants of Antananarivo are exceedingly terrified about fire, and after what I had now seen I could not wonder at their alarm.* It is said that large portions of the entire city have sometimes been consumed. The only marvel is that, sensible as all must be of their exposure to such calamities, and terrible as they find their ravages to be, they should still, out of regard to the word or the conduct of their ancestors, not be allowed to erect any other than wooden buildings in the capital. It is said that the father of the first Radama, the conqueror of Antananarivo, would not permit any but wooden houses to be built, assigning

* How fearful the people really are I had an opportunity of observing in one of the large houses now burned down, and not very long before this same fire occurred. A young Christian officer, whose father was educated in England, who himself reads English, and has, besides what he inherited from his father, received as presents a number of really valuable English books, had a nice book-case with doors made for them; and one day, when I was looking over them, I saw, ranged along under the book-case, which stood about three feet from the floor, a number of large native baskets, each larger than a bushel measure. I said, "What are these for?" "They are to be at hand in case of fire, to put the books in, and take them away, for if I had to look for baskets or boxes after a fire had broken out, they would be burned before I should get them away." The house of this officer, and of his cousin, were both destroyed, and when I asked him after his books, he said only the covers of one or two were burnt, but that many of his papers were consumed.

as his reason, that if he allowed houses with clay or stone walls, the city would become a collection of huts; and consequently his successors will not allow any building with clay or stone walls to be erected within the ancient boundaries of the city. While the scene of destruction was spread out in all its desolation, so near the palace, I felt very much inclined to write a letter to the queen, recommending her, out of pity to her people, to allow those who were disposed to build stone houses in the place of those destroyed; but recollecting that Radama, though he wished it, had not felt himself strong enough to deviate from this law or custom, I remained silent on the subject; though I spoke of it frequently to the ministers, who said perhaps they should build stone houses by-and-by. Many went to the palace to congratulate the queen on the royal buildings having escaped.

As the Christians and heathens were nearly equal sufferers by the fire, I did not hear the circumstance adduced in favour or against either the one or the other. The votaries of the idols seemed, if anything, more active than they had been before; and if they associated the calamity in any way with the idols, it would be as a retribution for some offence given to them, or some duty neglected. When talking with the people about the supposed influence of the idols in their affairs, I have sometimes said, "Suppose a man returning to his home, should find it plundered or burnt, or visited by any similar calamity, what would he think or say?" And the answer has frequently been, "He would think his household gods were offended, and would say, 'What have I done or omitted that this calamity has come upon me?' and he would charge himself to be more careful in future. He would at the same time, if there was any reason to suppose that it was the work of a thief or incendiary, spare no pains to discover and punish the offender." On these occasions I never failed to express my scepticism as to the ugly, dirty bits of wood which they regarded as household gods being in any way associated with invisible beings on whose will the suc-

cess of the thief, or the destructive action of the fire, was at all dependent; not omitting to state that one of our objects in coming to their country was to tell them of the one true living God, by whom the world was really governed, and all things in it controlled: adding, also, that although everything good came from God, we did not know that God was displeased with any man whose house was burned down any more than He was with another man whose house had escaped; and therefore we must not think that the man whose house had escaped was thereby shown to be a better man than his neighbour.

To all the Christians this fire was a calamity, but their means enabled them to repair the loss, and the few who were poor were assisted by their friends, though it was a long time before the vacant spaces were filled up. The great affliction felt by all was the destruction of their new, though unopened place of worship; and this sense of loss extended beyond those who had suffered by the fire. Two high officers of the government who lived near expressed their regret, as several members of their families had proposed to attend. The heads of the Christians residing in the neighbourhood came to me soon after the fire, expressing their earnest desire that another chapel might be erected, but at the same time stating, that after the cost of the building destroyed, and the loss some of them had suffered in the destruction of their own dwellings, they were not able to build another themselves, though they would help. I encouraged them to confer with their friends, to ascertain what a new place would cost, how much they could raise themselves, and then come to me again. I was myself most anxious that this loss should be repaired. I considered that, supposing the city itself did not contain more than 30,000 inhabitants, it was now all open to our efforts, and that as yet we had only one place of worship in its central and most thickly populated parts; and I was unwilling that the whole of the western side of Antananarivo should remain through another rainy season without a place of worship, more especially as a missionary to occupy the post was

daily expected. The present was also the most favourable time of the year for purchasing timber.

The people were not long before they repeated their visit, and informed me that, after all they could do, about forty pounds would be required to complete such a building as that which had been burned down. I told them I most heartily concurred in their wish; and as there was no time to lose before the rainy season would set in, I would venture to advance for them money to that amount, and would write to friends in England and ask them to contribute towards the object.

I have already stated that it is customary for families after the feast of the New Year to visit the tombs of their ancestors, to repeat their prayers and present their offerings, chiefly the fat of bullocks, to the spirits of their departed relatives; also to keep the tombs in repair, and see that they are not injured by neglect. About a fortnight after the New Year's festival, the queen, accompanied by the court and the officers of government, made a visit to the tomb of her aunt, the late Queen Ranavalo, at Ambohimanga.* The diviners, as usual, fixed on Sunday for the journey. Besides those who had already gone to make preparation, numbers had been passing along the road since the early dawn of that day; and about eight o'clock, when I was about to set out to the chapel at Ambatonakanga, the sound of music intimated the approach of the royal party, and I waited until they had passed. The prime minister of the late queen, and guardian of her tomb, the commander-in-chief, and a number of high officers, led the way. The band preceded the queen's

* The idol of the late queen was kept at Ambohimanga, and as an evidence of her sense of the value of its intervention in her favour, it was reported that when the queen heard of the combined attack of the French and English on Tamatave, she took all her jewels, and other valuables, hastened to Ambohimanga, and offered them to the idol to secure its protection of the country. After the armed vessels had retired these treasures would most likely be taken back to the palace. But the retreat of the invaders, and the thirteen skulls of their comrades, which we saw in 1853 fixed on poles around the battery, were evidence to the queen and her companions of the acceptableness of the offering and the efficacy of the intervention.

escort, and her majesty rode in an Indian palanquin with closed doors. The family idol, Manjakatsiroa (not two sovereigns), was borne immediately before the palanquin of the queen, surrounded by the guardians and servants of the idols, whose shoutings with the loud beating of the Malagasy drum produced a most discordant noise. A large number of officers, attendants, and others followed the escort of her majesty.

Having waited until I supposed the procession would have passed beyond our place of worship, I proceeded on my way, and found the congregation considerably diminished by so many officers and others having been required to attend upon the queen. The quiet which now prevailed seemed to be welcome to the Christians, who felt, that although interruptions to their Sunday services were not agreeable, they had too many religious advantages to be at any loss for grounds of thankfulness and praise to God, particularly as, notwithstanding all the endeavours to revive the influence of the idols, we had no reason to believe that their influence was increasing among the people, while few, if any, months passed without additions to the numbers of the Christians.

We were thankful that the queen's visit took away but few of our workmen engaged on the church, but grieved that Mr. Aitkin, a skilled carpenter and Christian man, who had come from the Cape of Good Hope to assist us in the work, was obliged about this time, on account of illness, to leave the country. We were, however, shortly afterwards encouraged by the arrival of Messrs. Hartley and Briggs, who had been sent out during the previous year, but had remained at Mauritius on account of the reports they received there of the unsettled state of Madagascar at that time.

The queen and court had not been long at Ambohimanga before a report was in circulation at Antananarivo that Radama was not only living, but in the neighbourhood of the capital; and a few nights after the queen's departure, towards midnight, there was a great commotion amongst the officers and soldiers.

The next morning I saw a number of men under arms in the hollow beneath my house, and heard that during the night, the officers had discovered that two subordinate officers and a considerable number of soldiers were at least acquainted with the report, and that between sixty and seventy of them had been arrested. There were reports that there had been fighting in some parts of the city; and though only reports, they served to show the state of agitation among the people. Soldiers were placed at all the avenues leading to the city, and the most strict examination was made of every one coming from, or going to, the country; while additional men were stationed at the different posts occupied by the soldiers.

The men who had been arrested were sent off as prisoners to Ambohimanga, and although there was evidently considerable uneasiness in the city, no further disturbance occurred by night or day, and we were glad to pursue our work in peace. The masons were making good progress with the lower walls of the church; and although the lime furnished by the government was not equal to the wants of the masons, we had succeeded in engaging the family of Prince Ramonja to have a considerable quantity of stone brought from a distance to the west, which we had reason to believe would make good lime. For more immediate use, some of the high officers agreed to supply us, on receiving payment in articles which they desired to possess, and for which, in furtherance of this object, I felt no objection to send, as the money in use—Spanish dollars or French five-franc pieces—cost us a great deal more than their current value in Europe or Mauritius, before they reached Antananarivo, besides the risks of transport, &c.

In order to help forward the work at the church, I visited the ground daily, that I might assist Mr. Sibree in directing or explaining his wishes to the workmen; and we generally settled the accounts with the overseers of the masons and quarrymen when Mr. Sibree had measured and was satisfied with their work. This and other engagements in connection with the

early stage of the building occupied a considerable portion of my time. Besides which I was frequently visited by Christians and others at my own residence in the capital, or from the villages; some for the sake of conversing, some for help in sickness or other need, and I never declined attending to any, if it was in my power to do so. It was also necessary to converse frequently with the officers of the congregation with which I was associated, in order to arrange subjects connected with our public services, or the more restricted religious meetings of the church. The following selected from my notices of one of these meetings held in May, 1864, will convey some information as to the subjects which sometimes claim the attention of our churches or Christian communicants.

Before any meetings, my associate in the pastorate and some of the deacons usually came to inquire respecting the course it would be best to pursue in reference to persons proposed for fellowship, and other matters. We were accustomed to send one or two native preachers to some of the village churches on the Sunday. These brethren were welcomed by the congregations, who maintained a kind of fraternal connection with us. But it appeared that some young men belonging to our congregation had, without saying anything to us, gone to some of these villages, and said they had come to preach there; showing a document which simply attested their being communicants. Their preaching had not been very efficient or good, and some of the parties had written to inquire whether we had sent them. I said any Christian was free to go and preach to those who were willing to hear him, and their only mistake had been in announcing their intention to preach without saying we had not sent them; and we thought it would be best that the overseers of the church should give to each of the approved preachers a paper to that effect, or inform the congregations in the villages of the names of those who were accredited preachers. The conduct of the young men was certainly irregular; but, perhaps, they were not the only preachers who formed a different

opinion of their own preaching from that which was cherished by their hearers.

The next case was that of a man of unimpeachable Christian character, a member of the church, whose wife was a heathen, and who, a fortnight before had left him, saying she would live with him no longer, and I think it was added that she had gone away with some other man. They said it caused some talk among the Christians, and some thought the man, under these circumstances, should not come to the Lord's Table. I asked if he had treated his wife ill, or had been unfaithful to her, or if there was anything at all wrong in the man's conduct. They said he had done no wrong in these ways, and they had never heard of any inconsistency in his conduct; I then replied, I did not think the man should be excluded from the communion for his wife's fault.

The next was the case of a Christian woman with a heathen husband. The man had left her some time ago, and had gone to live with another woman, who had one child, but he had afterwards discarded the woman, and within the last month had sought his former wife, who had agreed to liye with him again. Under these circumstances, they also doubted whether this woman should be admitted to the Communion, but wished to know my opinion. I asked what had been the woman's conduct during the period of separation. They said in every respect unexceptionable; that she had always expressed her attachment to the man who had forsaken her; had regarded him as her husband, had associated herself with no other man, and had been esteemed by all the church as a quiet, industrious woman; but some thought she should not have gone back to her heathen partner. I said as the woman had always regarded the man as her husband, that perhaps she had become his wife while both were heathens, and as she had pursued so exemplary a course while she was a forsaken wife, and had now complied with his wish for her return, I did not think she should on that account be excluded from the Lord's Supper.

The next was the case of a young man, a communicant, who had lately taken a woman to live with him without any marriage ceremony, either Christian or heathen, expressing his intention to be publicly married, but that they had since separated. I said that was clearly wrong, and he should be informed that he must not come to the Lord's Table, but the cause of his exclusion must be stated to the church.

I generally met my colleague, the native pastor, and the deacons, to converse on the circumstances necessary to be mentioned before the meeting of the church, which took place once a month, before the celebration of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. I have said the instances were few in which we felt it necessary to exclude any from the Communion, so that occasions for inquiry in reference to the subject seldom occurred, and I have adduced these, chiefly to show the kind of difficulties which occur in such Christian communities as those of Madagascar.

The marriage institution is an important part of the civil polity of Madagascar. As a rule marriages take place early, sometimes proceeding from the mutual attachment of parties, but more frequently from arrangements made by their parents. Betrothment, or the engagement between the parents of both parties, or their representatives, and the parties themselves, often take place during the early age of the latter. They are entered into in the presence of the immediate relatives before witnesses, and are considered binding. The marriage ceremonies are few and simple. The bridegroom, accompanied by his friends, repairs to the house of the bride; his friends ask for the intended wife, and on the consent being given, he receives or pays the dowry previously agreed upon between the parties. Presents are then given, a dish of rice is prepared, of which both the bride and bridegroom partake, sitting side by side; and the act of thus publicly eating together seems to be the most important part of the ceremony. Prayer is offered, and a benediction—"May the blessing of God be with you!"

pronounced, and the parties then proceed to the house of the bridegroom, where the ceremonies are repeated, prayers being again offered, and the benediction again pronounced.

Among the heathen there are many observances which are symbolical or representative. I remember at one of the marriages which I attended, the oldest female connected with the family sat with her back leaning against the main pillar at the north end of the house during the whole ceremony, and hearing some allusion to her sitting there, I was told, in answer to my inquiry, that it was to show that after the marriage, the place of the wife was in the house of her husband, meaning that she was not to be too frequently abroad.

The native observances are still followed among many of the Christians, excepting the offering of any prayers to the gods of their ancestors; and where both the parties are Christians, the Christian minister or pastor is usually invited, a hymn is sung, a portion of Scripture is read, and prayer, having special reference to the occasion, is offered. They often inquired about our modes of proceeding in entering upon the marriage engagement; and after repeatedly conversing on the subject, deeming the institution of marriage of divine appointment, as well as dependent on the divine blessing for its highest benefits, we proposed to introduce among the people public Christian marriage in the house of God, and in the presence of the immediate relatives of the contracting parties, who should then enter into the marriage covenant before their Heavenly Father, and implore His blessing on their holy union.

We proposed also to enter such marriages, attested by witnesses, in a register to be preserved among the records of the church and congregation for future reference, in case of necessity, respecting property by descent or bequest, or other purposes. We also recommended that for the present, whatever part of the marriage ceremony it was necessary to have performed before the officer of government, such as tendering the hasina to the representative of the sovereign, which rendered

the marriage legal for all purposes for which it might be referred to before any legal tribunal, should be attended to either before or after the service in the place of worship.

The best amongst the Christians cordially welcomed the introduction of public marriages with religious services, though some of the young people appeared to prefer confining the engagement to the family circle. But independently of the propriety of acknowledging God, and seeking his blessing on a transaction so important, we considered that in a country where such innumerable evils resulted from the looseness, or brittleness of the marriage tie, everything tending to enhance the sense of its sanctity, and its binding obligation, could not but be beneficial.

At length, at the last weekly meeting of the church in the month of June, 1864, it was stated that on the following Thursday, two young persons, members of the church, would be publicly married, and the heads of families especially were invited to attend. The bridegroom elect was an aide-de-camp of the prime minister, and on the day before that appointed for his marriage he had been sent on duty to Ambatomanga, a station fifteen or twenty miles away, and it was a week before he returned, when the marriage took place.

I had translated so much of our marriage service as appeared suitable to the circumstances of the Malagasy, and on reaching the place of worship at the appointed time, two o'clock, I found the bride with her father and mother sitting one on each side of her on the same seat. The bridegroom soon after entered, attended by his friends. After a hymn had been sung I went to the front of the table which in our temporary building served as a pulpit, the bride and bridegroom then standing side by side. One or two of the friends of the young man stood by him, and the father and mother of the bride stood close by their daughter.

I had previously read the terms of the contract to the father of the bride, and also to her future husband, and had requested him

to provide himself with a ring such as would fit his wife's finger. I then read the service, especially the terms of the contract, as distinctly and deliberately as I could, amidst the most eager attention from every individual in the place. When I said, "Who giveth this woman in marriage?" the father came close to his daughter, and said in a very clear voice, "I do." And then, when the audience heard that the obligations of the engagement were equal, that the husband promised to take his bride and her only to be his wife, to cleave to her in prosperity, and in adversity, in health and in sickness, and to be true to her even until death should part them, there was an appearance of much satisfaction amongst those who were spectators of the ceremony. When I had pronounced that they had become man and wife before God and the congregation, and had offered prayer, the service closed, and the newly married couple and their friends gathered at the table, where I presented the register in which I had previously written the form of record, which both the bride and bridegroom signed, as did also their witnesses; the father witnessing for his daughter. We had no Malagasy Bibles, but I presented to each of the newly-married pair a New Testament which Mr. Parrett had bound rather handsomely, as a memorial of theirs being the first Christian marriage celebrated at Ambatonakanga.

The parties united by this first wedding were respectably connected. The bride came in her palanquin attended by half-a-dozen or more of young female friends about her own age, all dressed in white. She herself carried a nice white parasol with deep fringe; and altogether, when the party left, they formed quite a bridal pageant.

We heard afterwards that the women were exceedingly pleased with the reciprocal obligations which the marriage contract imposed. The men were the same, though some said it was rather hard upon them. Public Christian marriages have been celebrated in other places, where some among the highest classes have given the observance the benefit of their example;

but at Ambatonakanga we have also celebrated more than one Christian marriage between slaves, in the presence and with the approval of those to whom they were in bonds.

We introduced the giving and receiving of the ring in the marriage ceremony as a perpetual sign and memorial of the sacred engagement, and a suitable mark of distinction between the married and unmarried woman in general society. Goldsmiths and silversmiths are not wanting in Madagascar, and wedding-rings may be readily obtained of gold or silver, as most suitable to the means of the purchaser. Though there is nothing among the Malagasy to distinguish the married woman, there are customs connected with special circumstances which are both interesting and appropriate. When the husband goes to the war, the wife, during his absence, wears a narrow black ribbon, or a braided necklace of black hair, fastened with gold clasps round her neck, as a sign that she is married, that her husband is absent, and her person sacred. When the husband goes on a distant errand, as when the envoys were sent to England, the wife wears round her neck a silver chain or a necklace of a peculiar kind of beads, for the same purpose, until his return.

CHAPTER XVI.

Consulting the idols—Increased frequency of public amusements—Patience of the Christians—Rumours of the unpopularity of the Prime Minister—Quarrel among the Nobles—Flight of the Prime Minister from Ambohimanga—Seeming reconciliation—Sentence of the persons accused of circulating false reports—Assembly at Ambatoroko—Revolting barbarity of the executioners before inflicting the sentence—Dissuasion from a reckless waste of human life—Favours granted by the Ministers to the Mission—The timber of the palace bought for the roof of a church—Rumours of plots against the Government—Arrests and punishments—Message of the Queen to the people—The Prime Minister sentenced to banishment—Disposition of his property, and departure—Visit to Ambohimanga—Appointment of Pastors and Deacons—Rainikioto—Hospitable reception at Antsarotrafohy—Notice of the Martyrs—Intercourse with the Christians—Visits to places of concealment—Meeting of the Christians at Ambohipanja.

TOWARDS the close of March, the queen and her court returned from the north; but their return did not promise any great advantages to the quiet and orderly part of the community. Dissipation and revelry had marked the conduct of a considerable portion of the court followers. The idols, too, appeared to be more frequently brought before the public, and bearers were sometimes seen carrying to some of the idols offerings, consisting of quantities of freshly-killed beef, preceded by men dressed as idol-keepers, who ordered all persons in the highway to turn aside, and halt until the bearers of the offerings had passed by.

The idols were also said to be more frequently appealed to in reference to some parts of the public proceedings, to justify or sanction any course which it was intended to pursue. I one

day, about this time, asked a very intelligent man how the keeper or guardian inquired of the idol and received its response. He said that one of their renowned idols, Kelimalaza (literally—small, but able to answer), was kept in a small box, hollowed out of a solid piece of wood, with a covering that fitted very tightly, like a large wooden stopper; that before inquiring the keeper took the box out of its covering, set it in the appointed place, offered a prayer with a small present or gift, and then proposed his inquiry. After a time, the keeper took the box containing the idol, and attempted to open the box by drawing out the wooden cover or stopper. If the lid came out easily, the idol did not object, and the thing inquired about, whatever it might be, would be easily accomplished; but if the lid required time and was difficult to remove, the enterprise would be protracted and difficult; or, if the lid could not be removed, whatever efforts the keeper might use, the attempt must be relinquished—the thing could not be done. Either the idol did not approve, or there were difficulties that could not be removed.

I expressed my doubts whether so childish a pretence could really impose on such people as the Malagasy; but my informant confidently affirmed that that was how the priest knew what answer the idol returned to the inquiries he was employed to make. He said whatever process the people might suppose was adopted by the keeper to obtain the desired information, this was all he ever did; that sometimes he told them the day was unlucky, or the offering not acceptable; and that, occasionally, when the first answer had been unfavourable, a second appeal was afterwards made, with better results. Equally puerile are a large part of their proceedings in connection with their superstitions. This idol, so important in its influence, is usually kept at the poor, dirty village of Ambohimanambola, about seven miles to the east of the capital, which, in consequence of containing the house of the idol, is called a sacred village.

The visit to the north seemed to have produced a desire for public amusements. Public dances at the palace were revived soon after the return of the court, and most of the respectable portions of society—men and women, Christian and heathen—were required to go, at first, once a month, and, after a time, once a fortnight, to dance in the court-yard for the amusement of the queen and the members of the court. They were not invited as to a court ball, but ordered to go, as to a kind of government service, to furnish amusement to others, and the fear of the consequences of disobedience made it something like being sentenced to the treadmill. We had been invited to witness the dances, but had declined, and sympathised very sincerely with the Christians, who said they felt ashamed to be dancing in that public way. Sometimes these dances were fixed for the Sunday, and Christian men, who would otherwise have been preaching in the house of worship, were at times ordered to join the dancers in the public court-yard. This was peculiarly trying to the Christians, who, accustomed only to the dances of heathenism, discontinued the practice altogether amongst themselves on becoming Christians.

But the Christians were patient and quiet, hoping after a time to obtain exemption from personal attendance, more especially on the Sunday; and, before long, graver matters requiring the attention of the government, the public dances in the court-yard were discontinued. I have mentioned this to show the peculiar condition of Malagasy society in its transition state, and the blending of the old system, which made the lives, persons, property, and time of the subject available for the interest or the pleasure of the sovereign, with the religious liberty so recently accorded to the Christians. Proceedings of this kind made the latter feel that their Christian freedom, precious as it was, was not unmixed with other and incongruous elements.

Ever since the report that Radama was still alive, there had been more or less uneasiness and restlessness among the people.

This was associated with feelings of unfriendliness towards the prime minister, who, it was said, had become arbitrary and overbearing in his proceedings, coercing the queen to sanction his own views, and even ordering men to be put to death without the sanction or knowledge of the queen, or of his colleagues, and the heads of the people. Persons were said to be sent to a distance, and there put to death with cruelty. Some said that he had encouraged the report of Radama's being alive, as a means of discovering who were disaffected towards his own government; and that the late king had been put aside to open the way for his own personal advancement. The fact of his having also become less temperate in his habits, greatly diminished the confidence of the people in his government.

On this point I believe there was no doubt. Respecting the other reports, I offer no opinion, but repeat them to show the state of mind amongst the people before the queen and court went to Ambohimanga. This event was the occasion of bringing matters to a crisis. I have already stated that, within a week after the queen's departure, two inferior officers and a number of men were arrested and sent prisoners to Ambohimanga, for confessing to a knowledge of the report that Radama was living, was near, and would perhaps make himself known to the people. It was said that they were entrapped into acknowledging that they knew of this report. The number first arrested amounted to sixteen or eighteen, but others were afterwards seized, and about seventy were accused of reporting that the late king was living, and some added that it had been intended to attempt the prime minister's life.

When these prisoners reached Ambohimanga, the queen and the greater part of the officers, including the commander-in-chief, were disposed to treat them leniently, but the prime minister urged that the greater part of them should be put to death. This was opposed by almost every person of consequence who was present, but still insisted on by the prime minister, who, it

was said, was at that time often inebriated, and then unguarded in speech and violent in conduct.

On one occasion, when the minister of the late queen had spoken against the men being put to death, the prime minister is reported to have replied, "As you are so anxious to spare these traitors, perhaps they belong to you;" that at the same time he struck him, and also threatened his own brother. Great commotion ensued, and, during the night, the prime minister fled, returned to his own house at Antananarivo, and prepared to fortify himself there. Twice the queen sent to him to return, but he still remained, when a high officer, a personal friend, came and urged him to return, or he would imperil his own life—for there was a law, that any subject who should deliberately disobey the direct order of the queen, should be put to death. On the third night, therefore, the minister returned with his friend to the court at Ambohimanga, where he and a number of others were required to take the oath of allegiance, a sort of bond to keep the peace.

But differences still prevailed amongst the members of the government about the disposal of the men, who had, in answer to interrogations, confessed to a knowledge that Radama was said to be alive, and expected to appear. The minister still urged their being put to death. The others opposed this wholesale destruction, alluding to the wishes of the queen, when the minister replied, "I know what is right as well as the queen. But for me she would never have been queen." And is said to have added, that he should not regard her word, with other treasonable expressions. On hearing this, the queen is reported to have said, "He wants to be king; but I am sovereign, and sovereign of the lives of the people, and no one shall be put to death without my consent."

Such was the state of things when the court returned to the capital. The prime minister was regarded as in disgrace, and remained chiefly at his own house. Afterwards, one or two seeming reconciliations between the opposite parties took place,

and the minister was again admitted to the palace. The government then considered the course to be pursued in reference to the prisoners, and I was anxious to see how they would apply practically the new principles of their embryo constitution.

The nobles and the heads of the people considered the charges brought against the whole number arrested, and they agreed that sixteen should be put to death, ten put in chains, and the rest liberated. They carried their decision to the queen, who added two to the number to be put to death, one being a female servant of her majesty's who had been guilty of stealing money in the palace. The nobles and heads of the people agreed to this addition, and the decision was left to be carried out.

On the following Friday, the day of the large weekly market at Zoma, the firing of cannon in the morning, in order to strike terror into the minds of the inhabitants of Antananarivo, announced that the execution of the criminals was to take place that day. The sentence was to be pronounced at Ambatoroko—rugged or craggy rocks—a sloping piece of ground about a mile or more on the east side of the capital. Early in the forenoon crowds collected around the place, and I saw spectators gathering on the eastern side of the crest of the hill above my house; but I did not go. I had no desire to witness the revolting scene. A friend who was near and saw the whole, as well as some others who were officially engaged, gave me a truly affecting account of the proceedings.

The pile of rocks which give their name to the place, is situated on the upper side of a sloping plain. In front of these rocks a wide space was kept clear by the soldiers, who were early on the ground. The crowd accumulated outside the troops; the whole of the prisoners, with the officers who had them in charge, and the executioners, entered the area; those who were to suffer death were stationed in one place; those

who were to be put in chains in another place; and those who were to be liberated in a third place.

The Malagasy are not yet so enlightened and humanised as to think that the judicial taking of life after the public pronouncing of the sentence is sufficient to vindicate the supremacy and authority of the law, and by the punishment of the offender to appal and deter others from committing similar crimes. It is their object to make the infliction of death as terrible to the culprit and as appalling to the witnesses as possible, and thus, like beasts of prey, to torture the victim before depriving of life and of all capability of feeling or suffering. Hence, while the unhappy prisoners were standing bound in that open space, the executioners leaped along before them, baring their knives and brandishing their spears, with wild gesticulations, as if in the act of stabbing them or piercing them through. It was said that until the sentences were pronounced, they did not know which were to suffer, and which were to be set free. This practice was to make those who died feel the awful shock more than once, and to make those who escaped know something of the shuddering horror of approaching and violent death. It was also intended to impress the spectators with the fearful consequences of disobedience to the law.

At length the judges and the high officers arrived, and when they had taken their places on the east side of the open space, the chief judge, standing on a long flat stone called the rock of judgment, and lying a little in front of the rest, delivered the kabary, or message from the sovereign to the people, stating, that efforts had been made to preserve the peace of the land in order that the people might dwell in quietness, and reap the fruits of their labour; alluding to the laws the queen had promulgated, and the warning she had given against disturbing the peace of the country by false reports, and making them traitors to the government of the country; that as these laws and warnings had been disregarded, the penalty must be inflicted by sentencing the eighteen who had been guilty to be put to death,

the ten who had been less guilty to be put in chains for life, and the remainder, who had not been guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, to be set at liberty, with a warning to avoid exposing themselves to accusation for the future. The latter were then set at liberty, and returned with their friends to their homes. Those sentenced to fetters were conducted back to prison; and those sentenced to die were taken to a place a mile further to the south, where they were speared to death, and their heads afterwards cut off and left on the ground. Their friends were at liberty to take away the bodies for interment, and such as were left were buried on the spot by government slaves, under the direction of appointed officers.

I saw several persons afterwards who had been spectators of these proceedings. They said the excitement was great, but seemed to produce a feeling of sadness. I was asked if I had been present; but I said it was heart-sickening to think of—what must it be to see? I told one of the officers I was glad they had not left the bodies of the ill-fated men to be torn to pieces by the dogs, which was a practice scarcely human, and so revolting, that the inhabitants of civilised countries would find it difficult to believe that it could be practised by people possessing any nobleness of character, or goodness of heart, as such conduct was only pursued by the most barbarous of savages.

This wholesale destruction of human life neither disabused the minds of the people, nor brought peace to the government. The prime minister became neither more temperate, nor less violent. His brother, the commander-in-chief, had occasion soon after this occurrence, to send an aide-de-camp to him with a message on government business, when he placed the messenger under arrest, and excited fears of intended mischief towards his brother. Meetings for deliberation were consequently held by the nobles, the heads of the people, and the queen; and on the 14th of July, exactly a fortnight after the sixteen men had been put to death, an order was sent from

the queen dismissing the minister from his office, depriving him of his rank, reducing him to the condition of a private subject, and requiring him, with his aides-de-camp and dependants, to take the oath of allegiance to the queen and her government, his brother being raised to the chief position as prime minister, and retaining also his former control of the army as commander-in-chief.

Rainivoninahitraniony and his adherents took the oath, with all its particular observances, at the usual place near the palace. The officers and others officially connected with the ex-minister, were transferred to his successor, and he returned to his house a Borizano, or non-military, non-official, private individual. Those who were personally connected with the parties most immediately concerned could not remain unaffected; but the most perfect quiet and order prevailed throughout the city during the progress of these events; no commotion or interruption of the ordinary course of proceedings being anywhere visible.

My regard for the late minister, and my remembrance of his many acts of kindness towards the Christians, as well as my obligations to him personally, induced me to call on him shortly afterwards, when I found him with his wife, his two sons-in-law, and a few servants. He said he was now a low common man, had not a single honour, and no position of rank. I said that in that respect we were upon a level, but that I had, notwithstanding, much to be thankful for, and I hoped he would not find himself destitute. In the course of our conversation, I observed that all conditions in this life were liable to change, and often to our advantage in reference to the life to come, upon which we must all soon enter; and that God regarded the state of a man's heart towards himself more than his outward condition. He thanked me for my visit when I left, and said he should be glad to see me again.

With Rai-ni-lai-a-ri-vo-ny, the new prime minister, I had been more than merely acquainted, as we had been much

together ever since my arrival, and had often united in giving what we thought good advice to the king. The morning after my interview with his predecessor, he sent his son to ask if I had any accounts of the envoys of the queen then in England, there having been rumours at Tamatave that one of them was dead; also that their mission had failed, and they would be home in a month. I said they were safe in London and in good health, when my latest tidings were sent away; that they had been well received in England by the government; but that the Danish conferences, which were being held in London, probably delayed their business.

In personal conferences with the minister I received very deliberate and gratifying assurances that there was no alteration in the views of the government in respect to the liberty and security of the Christians, nor any wish to interfere with our work, or allow any interruption to teaching and preaching, and that there was no occasion for the people to be in the least fear of any intention on the part of the queen or the government to interrupt their efforts to promote education or extend Christianity. In the course of our conversation at different times, he frequently alluded to the best mode of inflicting punishments. I always urged him, for the sake of his country, to use his best efforts to prevent the needless sacrifice of life. He once said to me, that the cause of the late minister's removal was his wish to put so many people to death, and the fear of the people that, under the influence of drink, he might do great mischief. I said the needless taking of life was a great crime, and that there was no more melancholy subject of reflection with me than the extent to which the country, and even the province of Aṅkova, had been depopulated by the recent wars and other evils which had prevailed; and it was a glorious position which now gave him the opportunity of arresting the depopulation and ruin of his country, of promoting its prosperity, and of being remembered as its benefactor. He repeatedly told me that was his great desire. I always en-

couraged that desire, believing that he meant then what he said, though sensible at the same time that his ideas and mine of what would constitute the prosperity of the country were probably very different, but something was gained when he meant well.

One thing pleased me in relation to the new minister. I always found his eldest son with him, a young man, perhaps just past twenty years of age, who was very attentive to all that passed, and seemed anxious to render his father every possible assistance—a young man, too, of whom I always cherished good hopes. So far, also, as I had the opportunity of observing, the people appeared to think the change would be better for the country, unless the disposition of the minister should change. He had more industry and power of application than his brother, though, perhaps, less force of character, and less heart; he also possessed the peculiarly valuable recommendation of being a temperate man; for I had reason to believe he was right when he told me that one great cause of the change of ministry had been the fear on the part of the people of the consequence of his brother's intemperance.

As missionaries, we had no reason to complain of the treatment we had received from either the late or the present chief minister of the government. On the contrary, important favours received from them demand our lasting gratitude. When duties were levied on imports, I represented to the present minister that all articles introduced for purposes of traffic, on which profit would be realised, were very properly subject to duty, but that, considering we were forbidden to trade, and made no profit by the supplies which were sent for our personal use, such as food or clothing, or other means of assisting us to carry on our work, which was for the advantage of the nation, not ourselves personally, I thought such articles and materials for schools, printing, building, and other public missionary work should be admitted free of duty, as the friends who sent them paid all cost of purchase and transport. The

minister conferred with his colleagues, and the queen concurred in their views, that articles introduced for our own use or for our work should be free, and this privilege has been continued to the mission.

Close to the palace-yard was the frame and partly-finished walls of a building of considerable size, which the late prince Ramboasalama was erecting when Queen Ranavalo died. After the death of Ramboasalama, the building, as it stood, was purchased by Mary, and at the time of the revolution it became the property of the late prime minister, and as it contained a large quantity of sound and large well-seasoned timber, which thousands of men and soldiers had been employed in felling and transporting from the distant forests, and was greatly superior to any that we could expect to obtain elsewhere, I had proposed to purchase it to use in building the churches, and the minister had expressed his willingness to dispose of what he did not want for his own use. The morning after my interview with him, he sent a friend to say that he should not build any more houses, and should not want the timber; if, therefore, I wished to purchase it, he should be glad to dispose of it. The friend went with me to point out the several lots, and when Mr. Sibree had measured and pronounced it more than sufficient for the roof of one of the churches, we offered what we deemed a reasonable sum, which was at once accepted, and our anxiety diminished with regard to procuring timber for the roof of the church at Ambatonakanga.

The late minister now seldom appeared in public, but spent his time either with his family in the city, or at one of his houses a few miles in the country, and the capital remained comparatively quiet during the remainder of the year. But on the commencement of the following year the government appeared to be uneasy, and there were rumours amongst the people of suspicions of conspiracy and plots against the present holders of office and power. Some men were seized and sent to a distant part of the country, without an hour's notice, and, on

the 7th of February, three men were apprehended, and charged with having received a bribe from the late prime minister to compass the death of the present holder of the office.

There was great commotion in the city. Orders were issued, that any individual seen out after gun-fire would be apprehended, and the inmates of any house arrested in which the lights were not all at the same time extinguished. The poor men who had been seized were severely flogged to extort a confession of their accomplices. The sufferers denied having received any bribe, or any proposal to act disloyally towards the government; declared that they had ever been faithful to it and the queen, and that their lives were in the queen's hand. They did not complain of the queen, but asked to be allowed to send for witnesses who would establish their innocence, and show that the transfer of a small piece of land which their family had received from the late prime minister, was publicly known to have been an exchange made for more convenient distribution of the land amongst themselves after the recent death of the head of the family. But this explanation was disallowed, and their witnesses were not permitted to appear. They still declared that, if the queen chose to put them to death, they could say no more.

In the evening the gun was fired an hour earlier than usual, though no public announcement had been made that such would be the case, and during the evening ten men were apprehended and lodged in prison; early the next morning, a woman, who resided just opposite my house, was also seized in the same manner, for having been out after gun-fire. There was great murmuring about what was deemed the injustice of ordering the gun to fire earlier than usual, without giving the people notice, so that they might reach home. At this time an order was issued for all officers to come to the capital for the readjustment of their rank; and it was said that all promotions during the late king's reign were to be invalidated, and that only those honours conferred by the present government were

to be retained. An opinion prevailed that this was not the real object, but that some of the officers were suspected of treasonable designs. An order was also issued that no person, not a regular inhabitant of the city, should sleep therein at night, and that no inhabitant should remain out all night.

The ten men apprehended on the previous night were liberated, as they were able to prove that they were occupied about their own personal affairs, and had no means of knowing that the gun would be fired earlier than usual. But as it was reported that a number of spears and other weapons had been found, the vigilance of the authorities was increased, additional troops were called into the city, the avenues were more carefully guarded, and all the military posts strengthened.

All the endeavours to obtain evidence to substantiate the charges against the men who had been apprehended on suspicion of having received a bribe to take the life of the present minister having failed, they were liberated. But rumours still circulated of treasonable intentions on the part of the former minister, and some of the members of his family, who were said to be plotting to remove the present minister, as a means of his own return to power, if not to the assumption of the sovereignty. This was enough to make the government uneasy, as well as prompt in the measures they adopted. An officer and fifty men were therefore sent to demand from him all the spears and other arms, with the ammunition, in his possession; and the former being fewer in number than was expected, it was surmised that he had concealed a part, or had placed them in the keeping of his adherents. His own account of their disposal was, that he had given them out to the men who came into the capital without arms at the time of the revolution, and that they had not been returned; but this explanation was not deemed satisfactory.

Orders were then issued to remove all the ammunition, every weapon, and everything of the kind from his premises. It was even thought to be unsafe for the deposed minister to

remain in the capital, so easily accessible to the chiefs and others; and for two successive days his destiny was subject to grave deliberation at the palace between the queen, and the nobles, high officers, and heads of the people. The wife of the minister, and his sister, went to the queen, and with tears besought her majesty not to take his life. Some, however, counselled his death. Others strongly opposed this, but recommended his banishment under circumstances that should prevent his causing any further trouble, and this counsel prevailed.

A large number of landed proprietors, and heads of villages, were at this time in Antananarivo, having come with their annual tribute of rice, as well as to pay their respects to the queen, on the approaching festival of the new year, and on the day of the above decision in the palace, a crier was sent round the city to summon the people to receive a kabary or message from the queen at Antsahatsiroa, the hollow in front of my dwelling.

Early in the afternoon a large and influential assembly gathered at the appointed place, and officers from the palace delivered the message from the queen. This was that her majesty was deeply distressed, that the peace of the community should be endangered by evil and treasonable reports of intentions on the part of the late prime minister, that she had sent to let them know how much she was distressed, and to ask their advice as to what she should do.

The leaders of the assembly, after several opinions had been expressed, recommended the queen to banish the late minister, and those employed by him in the attempt to accomplish his objects; and after the usual salutations of loyalty towards the queen the assembly was dismissed, the officers returned to the palace, and the recommendation of the people was declared to be adopted, although probably the meeting was convened to give public sanction and force to the decision previously agreed upon. The rumour of conspiracy was evidence of

the opinions supposed to exist. So far as I could judge from the remarks I heard, all classes seemed to think that the course pursued manifested a tendency towards a more reasonable and lenient mode of dealing with persons suspected of high crimes, and was a great improvement upon the swift, sanguinary, and summary punishment formerly inflicted, with scarcely any inquiry or examination. The decision of the government respecting the ex-minister was known through the city the same night. It relieved many minds of great anxiety, and was almost universally received as more agreeable than a severer sentence would have been.

Armed with the decision of the public meeting, the government issued their sentence that the late minister be banished to Manazary, a small out-of-the-way place belonging to his family, to the east of Antsirabe, near the southern borders of Imerina, and about three days' journey from the capital. He was to be accompanied by his vady kely, attended by twenty-eight or thirty slaves, some of whom were Christians, especially one exemplary and trustworthy man whom we were sorry to lose, but who was likely to make an excellent missionary in that part of the country. This good man called to take leave before setting out, informing me that he was appointed to attend his master in exile. I gave him some books, and encouraged him to do all the good in his power in his new place of abode.

The ex-minister was, moreover, allowed to take with him five hundred dollars, and to appropriate to his use three hundred and fifty cattle belonging to his late father, which were at the place. He was allowed to go to the distance of one day's journey from his residence of exile; but was afterwards restricted to much narrower limits, and all intercourse with strangers was forbidden. Sentence, when passed, is swiftly executed, and he was ordered to be sent off on the following day.

As soon as the banished minister became aware of his sentence he made a will, or distribution of his property. His wife, according to the tenour of the sentence, was to remain at

his house in the capital, and take the general charge of the establishment; and the other property left for her use during life, was to be distributed at her death, according to the direction of her husband; his landed and other property to be divided between his two daughters and their children. The houses which he built for, and other property which he gave to, his vady kely, who accompanied him, were to be hers during her life, and afterwards to be divided between her two children. This appropriation of his property was submitted to the queen, and being approved by the sovereign, was considered as legally confirmed, and could not be altered, even by himself, without the queen's consent.

The day after the sentence had been passed was Sunday, and as I passed by in the morning on my way to the place of worship, I saw a number of officers on the steps, and at the gate of the minister's yard, with persons moving about inside, and I understood that no one beyond the members of his own family would be permitted to see him. Our congregation was somewhat diminished in consequence of the events of the past few days, and also from a number of officers being in attendance at the palace and on other duties. I had heard that the sentence of the minister was to be carried out on this day, and about six o'clock in the evening, the hurried passing by of a number of officers to the south, along the highway, just above my house, announced his departure. It had been expected that he would leave by one of the high roads; but this was no pageant of greatness and power to gratify a wondering and admiring crowd, as had been many in which I had seen him pass; and it was also not deemed desirable to awaken commiseration or to call forth sympathy by a mournful exhibition of fallen greatness.

And thus Rainivoninahitraniony, the first man in the kingdom, the high noble whose power had placed Radama on the throne, and so soon afterwards had consigned him to an unhonoured grave, was himself now stripped of all honour,

power, and wealth, and carried silently and, as it were, clandestinely out of his own courtyard by a back door, along a comparatively unfrequented way past the palace, the scene of his exploits and his glory, now the source of his disgrace, to his own living tomb. He was borne to the small village of Tanjombato, on the opposite bank of the stream, to the west of the capital. Here he was to pass the night, and to proceed on the morrow to his home of exile on the southern border of Imerina. I afterwards paid a visit to his wife, who has long been a Christian, and who, though mourning her husband's fall, expressed her desire that it might be the means of his spiritual good. I left with her a Bible, in the hope that it might lead her mind away from the deep thought of her own sorrow, to the sure and blessed sources of strength and comfort which it unfolds.

The comparative quiet which prevailed, both in the capital and the surrounding country, after these events, enabled us to leave the city more frequently, and pay several visits, which had been for some time delayed, to the Christian congregations in the neighbourhood.

In the last week of July I went, in compliance with the earnest wish of the people, to Ambohimanga, to assist them in the recognition of their pastors, and the appointment of deacons to their church. The day was fine, and the ride of ten or eleven miles pleasant. On arriving, I received a cordial welcome from the people, most of whom were assembled near the neat little clay-walled building, which they had erected for their worship, at a short distance to the north, outside the gate of this sacred city or village. When we entered, although there were very few strangers, the house was crowded; there might be sixty, or more. After a hymn had been sung, I read the Scriptures, and prayed. I then told them that I did not come with any authority to enjoin laws, but as a friend, and the minister of the Church with which some of them had been connected, from which the Gospel had been brought to them, and with which they desired to be associated; also to explain to

them the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and the proceedings of other churches. I then explained to them the law of the New Testament on the subject of preachers and overseers. I asked the communicants if they wished any of those who had been accustomed from the time of the persecution to be recognised as their teachers and mpitandrina or overseers, still to retain that office. They were perfectly unanimous in naming two men of middle age, belonging to the place, and the congregation. I then explained to them as familiarly and simply as possible, the nature and duties of the office, and having done this, I asked the two individuals above mentioned, if they were willing, in dependence upon the Holy Spirit's assistance, to undertake the office and duties of mpitandrina. Each having answered separately, declaring that, trusting in God's word of promise, they were willing, I implored the Divine sanction and blessing upon the sacred engagement which had been entered into.

I next explained the teachings of the New Testament in relation to the office of deacons, and the qualifications requisite for the suitable sustaining of that office, and asked how many persons it was desirable to appoint to assist the mpitandrina in promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people. They said the people were thinly scattered over a wide surface of country, and that one of the preachers sometimes went a long way to preach. They thought they might ask four to become assistants to the ministers; and when they had named the individuals, I asked each separately if he was willing to undertake the office. Each answered in the affirmative, and I again prayed for the Divine blessing on the engagement. After this, I delivered a short address of instruction and encouragement to the newly selected officers and to the congregation, assuring them of the interest the churches in the capital felt in their welfare, and of their readiness to help whenever it might be needed, expressing a hope that our intercourse might be frequent and pleasant.

I was much pleased with the spirit and deportment of these people altogether. There was great simplicity of character manifested, and evident feeling in connection with the statements of Scripture, and the sentiments of the hymns which they sung. Their singing did not seem to be the mere repetition of words; and yet there was no pretence—nothing to attract attention. The oldest pastor, though the youngest man amongst them, Rainikioto, is a very interesting Christian. He is a native of Ambohimanga, scarcely thirty years of age, an amiable man, and a good preacher. His mother was sister to one of the ministers of the late queen. His father was guardian of Rafantaka, the tutelar idol of Ambohimanga. On his father's death, the office descended to him, but being a Christian he could not hold it, and it was given to his sister, who continues to be keeper of the idol. Strange contrast of office held by brother and sister, children of one father, in the same place.

When we had partaken of the refreshment provided for us, we took our leave, and journeyed eastward. My kind friend, the prime minister, had, unknown to me, sent to the authorities of the city informing them that I was coming with the entire approval of the government, and that they were not to allow any of my proceedings to be interrupted. The authorities of this heathen city had, as I afterwards learned, prepared a present of poultry, &c., for me on my departure; but as I left by a different road, I had not an opportunity of thanking them for their attentions.

Leaving Ambohimanga I arrived in less than two hours at Isarotrafohi, one of the dwelling-places of Andriamanantena, a distinguished martyr, who suffered in 1857. He was esteemed among the Christians as a man of intelligence and judgment, as well as of great activity and benevolence; and was generally sought by the Christians in seasons of difficulty and peril. He possessed great influence in his own neighbourhood, even among the heathen. And in the last fatal persecution, when so many of the leaders of the Christians fell, he was the honoured

individual selected, during the last few moments before they died under the stones of the executioners at Fiadana, to implore the Lord Jesus to receive their spirits.

The house in which he lived is still occupied by the widow and daughter of this distinguished man, whose memory is fragrant throughout this neighbourhood. The widow is a kind-hearted and exemplary Christian. The slaves of the family are more like children than servants, and her house is the resort of the poor and the afflicted. She gave me a cordial welcome, leading me into a spacious and airy room. To the left was my sleeping-room, in which I was glad to divest myself of my dusty coat and get a good wash. Soon afterwards I sat down at the table, with the family and guests, to an excellent supper, comprising soup, poultry, pork, and mutton, with French beans and potatoes, followed by a dessert of pine-apples and bananas. The tea-things were then brought: some nice cups and saucers, a silver tea-pot, a silver milk-jug, both of good pattern, and silver spoons—all of native workmanship, from European patterns.* There was also some good fresh milk, and I quite enjoyed the cup of tea. The kind attention of the servants to their mistress was also very pleasant to see. There are several congregations in the neighbourhood, the ministers of which, with the relations of the family, were present, and our conversation during the evening was deeply interesting and affecting. They narrated the perils of many of the Christians in that region who had been put to death; they described the concealment of the master of the house and his companions in the neighbouring caverns, or amongst the tall reeds of the swamps and the canes near the river, as well as his marvellous escapes from those who were dogging his steps for weeks together, during a long series of years, until the last severe persecution in which he died.

* These articles had belonged to my hostess when in early life she had been the wife of a governor of Fianarantsoa.

We had quite a congregation at family worship; and, at a late hour, after the company had left, a nice clean bed secured for me, after the long, tiring day, a good night's rest.

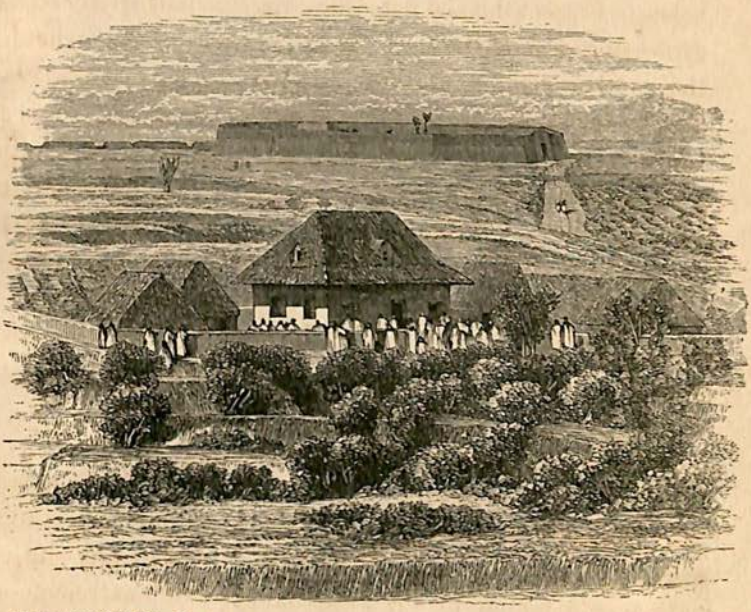
I had always heard Andriamanantena spoken of as a superior man, and, looking around me in the morning, I thought his judgment, taste, and industry were manifest in the choice and arrangement of this, his last earthly home. Isarotrafohi (short difficulty) is situated in front of the high granite mountain, Ambohitrabiby, so celebrated in the traditional history of Madagascar as the place where it was discovered that beef was good to eat. The summit of this mountain, which is visible from Ambohimanga and the country round for many miles, if not also from Antananarivo, is crowned by a village and a number of large and ancient trees. The house is situated near the base of this mountain, on a levelled terrace, thirty or forty feet wide, and about the same number of yards above the perpetually running stream, Imahavory, below. The boundary of the grounds towards the mountain and the side of the path along the end were bordered by a thick hedge or fence of the strong thorny *Acacia indica*, a plant that bears large upright bunches of bright yellow flowers, and makes so formidable a fence that the natives call it Tsi-afaka-omby—impenetrable by oxen. On the side towards the west, and two or three yards above the river, the ground is bordered by the same kind of formidable but beautiful fence. The house occupies the middle of the terrace; the kitchen and the houses of the servants standing at each end. The yard or court in front of the house, about twelve yards wide, is protected on one side by a wall four or five feet high. Within this wall, grape-vines were planted in pits sunk about eighteen inches deep, to prevent the roots being burnt up in the long, hot season of drought. The good widow occasionally sent me a present of grapes, which were well-flavoured, though not always fully ripe. Outside the wall was a bank about a yard wide, sloping down for at least twenty feet towards the hedge above the river. This

bank, and the level ground at the bottom, was planted with fruit-trees; loquat, peach, orange, citron, lemon, and limes, imported and indigenous, with a number of coffee-bushes in shady places, were all growing, most of them luxuriantly, some with fruit, others in flower.

A small gate led from the front yard into the orchard, where a flight of steps made the descent easy to the level ground below. Beyond this the flat, fallow rice-grounds stretched along the western side of the river and to the north of the orchard. To the south, canes and rushes bordered a long, narrow swamp. The higher ground was cultivated with manioc, and above that several acres of pine-apples, regularly planted on the ordinary gritty soil, were growing well, with scarcely any more care than was required to keep the weeds under. Here and there, half-an-acre or more of ground was filled with a dwarf, woody sort of plant, with yellow pea-shaped flowers, which is one of the kinds of food grown for the silk-worms. I sometimes saw the same shrub planted along the borders of fields and plantations for the same purpose.

The grounds at the back of the house, up towards the mountain, were cultivated with manioc, sweet potatoes, which are generally good, French beans, mostly used dry, and, in some parts, Irish potatoes. The latter are generally cultivated in the country more to the west, and are often extremely good. The fruits, especially the pine-apples, are sent to market. Other productions are chiefly for home consumption.

The country, with the exception of spots here and there, chiefly within the enclosures around the dwellings, being altogether destitute of trees, the surface of the hills, covered only with coarse, rush-like grass, and broken in places by projecting masses of bare granite, and the extensive rice-grounds in the low lands lying at this time fallow, caused the orchard and umbrageous grove of orange and lemon trees, and the luxuriantly-foliaged loquat trees, to look beautifully verdant and attractive. I took out my camera to a little rising ground on



Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis.

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ISAROTRAFOHY.

The Martyrs' Home.

the opposite side of the small river, and though the bank of the rice-field made a tame foreground and concealed the water in the stream, I obtained a tolerably good, though not very near, view of the house, the orchard and grounds, with the acres of pine-apples, here so easily cultivated.

The circular enclosure of high wall, half-a-mile higher up the mountain, with a couple of palm-like trees, is Tsarahomenana. It is a kind of homestead very common in Madagascar, and was Andriamanantena's residence before the house with the orchard was built; to the left, the walls and houses of the village of Ambohifahitra, two or more miles distant, are visible.

When my hostess and her numerous visitors from the capital and the neighbouring villages saw what I was engaged in doing, they assembled upon the bank in the orchard and behind the wall in front of the court-yard, anxious to be included in the picture, though too far off to be distinguishable. But I subsequently obtained portraits of the widow and daughter of the martyr, as well as of his two brothers, the eldest of whom is minister of the congregation in the adjacent village.

I afterwards walked out with a number of the Christians towards the sugar plantation by the side of the stream, where, in 1846, the owner of the place and Andriamandry and Ratsimavandy, another distinguished Christian, who was stoned to death eleven years after at Fiadana, were concealed for more than a week, while spies and persons sent to seize and take them bound to prison were watching and passing to and fro in search of them. Two of these escaped at that time, but the second, above mentioned, was taken, and died under the tangena, or trial by poison.

There was, a little beyond the buildings at the south end of the house, a fahitra—a kind of stall in which oxen are fattened. Such places are frequently dug out of the ground in the yard of the house. This was like a stall excavated out of the side of the rising ground, the food being let down into a small manger from above. Great part of the sides were of earth;

but at the bottom, on one side, there were masses of granite, as if the rock had been cut away. Into a part of this granite a kind of small round boulder was fixed, as if belonging to the original rock. The animal that was feeding, and whose fore feet stood just in front of the stone, seemed rather uneasy when I approached; but the man who fed it went in, and by removing the stone showed a dark hollow, which I was told had been excavated to an extent sufficient to conceal a man; and in that the master of the place had more than once found safety by concealment, when parties had been sent to arrest him.

As we then walked along up the broad path between the plantation of pine apples, and manioc, and food for the silk worms, the hostess told one of the servants to break off some ripe pine apples for our dessert. On reaching the high-walled circular enclosure we entered by the only gateway, over which, on the inner side, there was a kind of platform or stage on which three or four men might stand, and hold parley with others outside. The principal house was at the side opposite the gate, with two or three other buildings near it. On either side were the rice granaries, each a kind of cellar excavated in the shape of a bell to a considerable depth, the circular aperture of not more than two feet in diameter, being covered with a stone, and the hollow filled up with straw, and then earth to the level of the yard. There were one or two fahitra or sunken cattle folds here, with carefully prepared descending paths for the cattle, places in which rice straw was collected in abundance; and a few plants completed the contents of this enclosed homestead.

In 1849, when the martyrs were thrown over the precipice, and burned at Faravohitra, Andriamanantena, the owner also of this homestead, was accused of having held Christian worship in his house by the orchard, and the persons sent to apprehend him demanded admittance here in the queen's name. Though detained some time by the men on the platform inside, they at

length entered, searched the place, and after remaining a long time, finally departed without discovering the object of their search, who was concealed among some of the straw in a spot which was pointed out to me not far from the gate.

I also went about a mile and a half further up the side of the mountain, to a small piece of ground which had been levelled for a garden near the house of Andriamanantena's brother. In one corner of this garden where the rocky ground was perpendicular, there was at the bottom a small aperture overgrown with ferns and bushes. This opening was scarcely a foot and a half in diameter, but the natural cavern to which it led was more extensive than I could see or measure, and within this, I was told, three of the Christians at one time found safety in concealment. The brother of Andriamanantena appeared a good deal affected as he stood beside the entrance of this cave, and spoke of the extreme peril of the time when that was their place of concealment.

I then descended to the village of Ambohifahitra, where I had promised to meet the people. Their place of worship was very soon filled. There was a place like the door of a cupboard near one of the doors, and as we sate waiting until the people all came in, I asked what that was. They lifted the board away and showed me a passage for escape, by which a person could leave without being seen by others outside, in time of danger. When the company were all assembled the place was crowded. A hymn was sung, and I was much pleased with the simple soft kind of singing. I asked the native minister to read and pray, which he did, offering short explanatory remarks on the verses which he read. I then addressed them for a short time on the mercy and faithfulness of God, as their presence testified after the perils to which they had been exposed; and I encouraged them to endeavour to bring all around them under the influence of the faith and love of the Saviour; after which I closed the service with prayer on their behalf.

We had quite a large gathering at the house of my hostess in the evening. I found much to encourage in the simple, earnest piety of many of the Christians, but heard of some things which required to be rectified. I gave them the best advice I could, invited them to call on me, which they did not forget when they came to the capital, promised to visit them again. This I did, and assisted them in appointing church officers, and adopting means for nourishing their own spiritual life, and extending the Gospel in that part of the country.

On the following morning, after an early cup of coffee, I took leave of my kind friends, cheered by the evidence of the hold which the blessed truths of the Gospel had taken of the hearts of the people, who certainly had but few means of spiritual improvement. On leaving, I proceeded in a south-westerly direction across the country to a village about seven miles distant; where I had promised to meet the church and congregation at ten o'clock. A little before that time we reached Ambohipanja, at the entrance to which a number of the Christians met me, and conducted me to their place of worship, which was well filled.

From the written account which these people gave me, I found that there were forty-two communicants connected with the church; but a hundred and forty-seven belonging to eight or nine other villages united with them. They seemed most of them poor, but some very earnest. I had heard that they were not agreed as to the most suitable persons to be pastors or overseers amongst them. I was glad, however, to find them now united. Proceeding in a similar way to that which I had followed at Ambohimanga, I assisted them in appointing overseers and deacons; and in setting apart, in consequence of the number of villages connected with them, three of their number to itinerate as evangelists among those villages.

I had visited and assisted these Christian communities, not only in compliance with their earnest requests, but as a means of instructing them how to proceed in relation to associations of Christians now united with them, who might hereafter wish

to introduce a similar organization among themselves; but chiefly because some of the Christians in these infant communities had been associated, and nominally were so still, with the church and congregation of which I was one of the ministers, and who wished to regard Ambatonakanga as their parent, and to be regarded as the spiritual children of that church. The same considerations influenced my brethren in their endeavours to cherish and assist the village churches under their care.

As I had appointed another meeting in my own chapel at Ambatonakanga at two o'clock, I set out soon after twelve, halted for refreshment at the house of a member of the congregation, and reached the chapel before the arrival of a party whose marriage was to be celebrated that day. When that ceremony was concluded and the friends had retired, I repaired to the adjoining ground to see what progress had been made in the memorial church, and reached home towards evening somewhat fatigued.

CHAPTER XVII.

Opening of the new chapel on the Martyrs' Rock—Tombs and objects of interest along the road to Ambohimanga—A plunge in the canal—Friendly reception at the royal village—Wayside music—Interior of a native dwelling—Appearance and position of Ambohimanga—Journey to Imerinamandrosa—Description of the village—The place to which the Christians had been banished—A kabary by moonlight—Village Sunday services—The residence of the idol Ramahavaly—The wearing of hats prohibited—Notice of Razafy, a captive slave—Marriage of the Commandant's daughter—Visits to Lazaina—Description of the village and its suburbs—Harmony and good feeling between the Christian and heathen—Notice of Ranivo—Terrific storm on the road from Ilafy—Distribution of toys, as rewards to the children at Christmas—The chapel on the east side of the city and the gateway, Ankadibevava, its structure and antiquity.

THE loss sustained by the burning of the chapel on the edge of the Martyr's precipice in the great fire of the 2nd of May was repaired by the zeal and industry of the Christians in the neighbourhood, who, with a little help, erected in less than four months a new and excellent building, to which a road was made by Rainimaharavo, the chief secretary of state, whose residence is near.

In and around this building, when it was opened for Christian worship on the 15th of August, 1864, about seven hundred persons were assembled, including several officers of the palace, and members of the families of others. On the following Sunday, when I again preached there, I was glad to see, besides the Christians residing in the neighbourhood, a number of persons whom I had not been accustomed to meet in any of our congregations. Mr. Briggs became their minister. He opened a school for boys. Mrs. Briggs gave great attention to the education of girls; and the number of the Christians in this important part of the city has continued steadily to increase.

My own missionary labours, my intercourse with the people, and my opportunities of becoming acquainted with the state of the country, were not confined to the capital; and a few slight references to some of the most interesting places which I visited may render more complete my account of these parts of Madagascar at the time of my visit.

The Christian villages north of the capital being most closely connected with the Christians with whom I was associated, my journeys were most frequently in that direction, particularly to Ambohimanga; and when the weather was favourable these journeys were always pleasant. The country is open, the road lying along high level land in the centre of the island, varied at intervals by hollows and raised ways over swampy rice grounds, or running streams, and gentle ascents, is generally good. The air in the early morning, the time selected for travelling, is cool and invigorating; and the road is enlivened by travellers. The herd-boys driving forth the cattle from their homesteads, the labourers going to work in their fields, the slaves, male and female, carrying burdens along the road, the chief and his attendants, all may be met, as the rising sun spreads the pure light of morning over the scene; and if, as has sometimes been the case, three or four young nobles have trotted smartly by on horseback, I have returned their salutations with pleasure at the evidence of the change in their customs which our meeting afforded; and which might, I thought, at some future day be followed by a good carriage road from the capital to Ambohimanga. Along such a road, which could with comparatively little trouble be constructed, the queen herself might roll along in her carriage to her favourite mountain village and back in a day, without inconvenience or fatigue.

As it is, the road is not destitute of interest even to the stranger, far less so to the Malagasy. The graves, which are numerous about and beyond Faravohitra are interesting from their age, and from the successive generations of one family or kin which sometimes find within them their last resting-place.

Two hundred and forty bodies were required to be removed from one of these into an adjacent tomb, when the space originally occupied was needed for another purpose. Crossing the first hollow we pass tombs which are more attractive and striking. There is a low rude tomb of a Vazimba, one of the aborigines of the country, guarded with most scrupulous veneration by the people. Near this is a modern pile erected over a warrior's grave, on the upright shaft or obelisk rising from the centre of which is very neatly carved in clear relief a warrior's shield and spear. On the opposite side, at a little distance, is a still more modern tomb, about twenty feet high, in a somewhat Grecian style, over the remains of one of the first Radama's distinguished followers.

Lines of tombs appear to mark the last resting-places of the inhabitants of the adjacent villages along the road, sometimes in considerable numbers, as at Antsarahaba, where there are twenty on one side of the road and eleven on the other, within a few yards of the road. Of course only modern tombs have any inscriptions, but a flat upright stone, always at the east end marks the direction in which the head has been laid. These roadside tombs generally resemble each other, being mostly of stone and oblong in form, surrounded by one or more lines of stone steps, and many of them rising from four or five to twelve or fifteen feet high. Occasionally there is only a mound of earth surrounded by large flat stones fixed upright in the ground.

The rice grounds in this direction are extensive and well-cultivated. The swampy ground is also planted with rushes, which make excellent thatch, that is sold in large quantities in the market. The fences, which resemble walls built of thick sods, are planted along the top with the dwarf, branching prickly *Euphorbia splendens*, and *Bojerii*, or another variety which bears bunches of yellow flowers at the ends of the branches. During a long season, these border a large part of the road with intensely brilliant scarlet or yellow flowers.

A number of remarkable and beautiful trees, especially the fano, sacred to the idols, and the seeds of which are used in divining, grow near the road; while at one place, where the village is surrounded by a ditch, the peach-trees within are so numerous that the village is called Ankadikely-be-peshe (Little ditch of many peaches).

The shallow water at Andrano-be-vava (The wide-mouthed water), formerly spanned by a bridge, fragments of the broken arches of which now lie scattered at the bottom, varies the scene; and the Mamba (Crocodile river), nearly midway between the once celebrated villages of Ilafy and Namehana, which was formerly crossed by a stone bridge of two arches, must now be forded before the traveller can reach Asabotsy, on the opposite bank, where there is a small market for sugar cane and fruit, with which the bearers of travellers or goods generally like to refresh themselves when they halt.

But the Crocodile river is not the last water to be crossed, as I found to my grief on one of my journeys. Near Lazaina, the water for irrigating the rice grounds which lie along the road flows through a large canal five or more feet wide, and half as deep, with a bottom of soft mud. As we approached I saw a pole or branch of a tree, five or six inches in diameter, forming the only bridge across. I called to the bearers to go round, but they kept on, and the second step of the man in front slipped, and down he fell into the water, shooting me from my seat* head foremost into the canal, my hat floating in the water, my hands and arms sticking in the soft mud at the bottom.

The first thing I did after scrambling up the opposite bank, was to call and signal to my servants, who were on before me, but still in sight, and then to proceed to a little pool of fresh clean spring water, where, when my servants reached me, with

* What served the purpose of a palanquin in most of these journeys was a couple of poles kept apart by iron bars, with a canvas seat stretched from one to the other, and a narrow foot-board suspended from the bearing poles.

their assistance, I managed to scrape off the mud from my face and hair as well as my clothes. But though I began at length to feel somewhat cleaner, the sharp keen wind blowing along the valley on the wet clothes next my skin, made me suffer extremely from the cold. I had brought a thick great coat in case of a storm, and this, being in charge of the boys, was dry. Buttoning my wet waistcoat tightly over my wet linen, I put on the dry coat, according to hydropathic principles, and binding a towel round my head, I mounted my seat and resumed my journey, wringing out my wet jacket and hanging it on the front bar of my palanquin to dry, and holding my hat in my hand for the same purpose.

On reaching Ambohimanga about two o'clock, I found the guard drawn up outside the gate, and the officers exchanged salutations as I passed to my quarters, where I soon obtained a warm cup of coffee and some refreshment, as the best means of counteracting the cold which had followed my bath. When I returned towards evening, two officers asked me to halt at the gate where the troops were drawn up. The governor whom I had known at Antananarivo during the late reign shook hands with me very cordially when I alighted, and said he was glad to meet me again. The son of the Christian minister, and several Christians were there. An old man bending with years, and leaning on a polished ebony staff, then stood forward, and said they were representatives of the queen there, that my visit was regarded as a visit to her majesty; that they wished to receive me as she would have done, and had brought a little poultry and fruit. In thanking them, I said I prized and reciprocated their good will: we then took leave and proceeded on our way.

In my subsequent visits to Ambohimanga I very naturally avoided the canal; but a little beyond this place I saw on one of my journeys an aged minstrel sitting under a sunny bank accompanying a Malagasy song with one of the best-toned Lokangas I had heard. He was a remarkably good-

looking and venerable man, and had time allowed I should have been pleased to listen longer to his ballad and his music.

On one occasion, when I was accommodated with shelter and rest in the house of a native Christian, I was struck with the arrangements of the interior of the dwelling. The door was at one end of the west side of the house. On the side opposite to the door was a pen containing several sheep, and next to them another pen with a number of geese. Beyond that, nearly in the middle of the floor, was a rude and simple sugar mill, consisting of two cylinders of hard wood placed horizontally between two strong posts planted in the floor. The mill was turned by a wooden handle, in shape like the handle of a grindstone, with a slanting trough underneath to receive the juice from the bruised cane. The natives make a good deal of coarse sugar, which being but imperfectly crystallised and drained, is not palatable to a European, but is sold to some extent in the markets for native use. Immediately beyond the sugar-mill was the fire-place, a hearth sunk about four inches below the floor, and protected by upright stones round the edge, while three upright stones were fixed in the centre of the hearth to serve as a trivet. At the further end of the room, on the same side as the door, was a small window; and on the opposite side, considered as the sacred part of the house, was the sleeping place of the occupants. Over one end of the house was a sort of loft where mats, baskets, and other articles were placed. The walls of the house were of hard, close red clay, the roof of a stiff rushy sort of grass. Besides the animals already mentioned, a hen with a large brood of small chickens had to be evicted before I could enter, and from the persistence with which she returned, it was evident she felt that her rightful domain had been unjustly invaded.

This was one of the ordinary houses of a small village some distance to the north of Ambohimanga, and I found it in its ordinary state, for I had not been expected there; but it was

near the chapel, and I did not intend to spend the night with so numerous a household. I have described it minutely as showing the kind of dwelling in which the greater part of the poorer villagers reside.

I had a good opportunity of noticing this ancient, sacred, and historically celebrated place. The great charm of Ambohimanga is its position, standing out like a bold promontory, overlooking a wide range of undulating hill and plain, the hollows of which are most ingeniously and carefully irrigated, as well as industriously cultivated with rice and other indigenous productions; while the whole plain to the south is studded with large, and formerly populous villages, in which large umbrageous trees add to the charm of the landscape. On the eastern summit of the hill on which Ambohimanga stands, tombs and other important buildings are erected, while houses of a respectable class stretch along the upper part to the west. The sides of the rocky hill are clothed with tall and slender trees, and thick undergrowth of flowering shrubs; while the houses are almost crowded over the broad spreading base, on the northern and western sides, of the mass of granite on which this ancient village stands. Lower down, and in different directions, two or three houses may be seen grouped together, with gardens and a few trees forming a rural homestead, with orchards and other picturesque accompaniments; or a cottage or two standing under a clump of trees of richest foliage, with deep perpendicular precipices on one side, and the level land of the elevated plain stretching far away on the other, altogether presenting bits of landscape scenery that would make perfect gems of pictures. During one of my visits I obtained a good photograph of this ancient village, showing the north-western side of the mountain, the elaborate net-work of water-courses, and some of the detached objects of interest.

On the occasion of my visit to the cottage already described, the people were, many of them, at work in their fields, but my congregation amounted to about fifty—I never had fewer.

When the service was over and I returned to the cottage, my kind friends presented a fowl which they had cooked, and this, with some coffee which I had brought with me, furnished all the refreshment I required.

Soon after four o'clock I resumed my journey across the country in a direction due west. Our road led for a considerable distance along the edge of a range of high granite mountains, and afterwards along the margin of a stream running through a carefully cultivated level country, with here and there a homestead and a few cottages. The hills were barren, except where a village or the ruins of one crowned the summit, in which case there was frequently a number of ancient trees which the inhabitants had planted. After travelling about five miles in the same direction, we turned southward and wound our way for about a mile through some extensive walled enclosures, then crossing a fosse or ditch by a narrow pathway, entered, through stone pillars about six feet high, the ancient gateway of Imerinamandrosa. This village, which stands in an extensive plain, had been conspicuous from the road, owing to a number of tall, venerable trees which mark the residence of an ancient chieftain, to whom at one time Ambohimanga rendered homage and tribute.

Christians met us at the gate, and conducted us to a nice, clean, newly-furnished house, where a cordial friendly greeting awaited us from the Christians, some of whom I had met at Tamatave, in 1854, and others during my more recent visit to the country. In the lower room of the house, my servants, who came direct from the capital, had prepared my bed, and the Christian friend who accompanied me occupied the room above. Most of the Christians in the place came to visit us during the evening. Some of them had suffered much during the late persecution; some had lost beloved relatives; two of them had survived after wearing the heavy iron fetters for four years and a half, and now exercised great influence for good amongst the people of the place.

We had much to tell, and much to hear. I was pleased with the account I received of the progress of the Gospel in the place, and especially with the account of two young men who had, from the prompting of their own minds, taught a school of thirty boys in the village, and were quite rejoiced when I promised them a few school books and materials. I found there were a hundred and fifty Christians in the village, of whom twenty-six were united in Christian fellowship. As we were somewhat tired, and intended to remain two days longer with our friends, they did not stay late, and we were glad, after uniting with them in evening worship, to seek refreshment and retire to rest.

By the light of the next morning, I found myself in the midst of scenes novel and interesting. I walked round the high banks which encircle the village, and looked into the place of worship, formerly a government building used for the preparation of materials for manufacturing gunpowder; but given to the Christians by the late king. I then visited the ancient gateways, now partly in ruins, and crossed the village in several directions. It appeared to have been more than once enlarged, but was still nearly circular, and two or three hundred yards in diameter. One deep ditch or fosse, eighteen feet deep and eight feet wide, with steep perpendicular sides, and a bank of earth six or more feet high, on the inner side of the ditch, had been in former times its chief protection. I visited three gateways, which were built with large massive stones, and defended on the inside by a circular granite slab, as at the ancient gates of the capital, and elsewhere. All were more or less dilapidated, though still used for passing in and out of the village. Within the outer fosse, there were in some places two others, narrower, but deep, the second being about eight yards within the outer one. A deep ditch also divided the village in two parts, so that if one part was entered by an enemy, the other might be still secure.

I was struck with the number of excavations for cattle pens;

and passing along among the ruins of former dwellings, the whole of the ground seemed to be honeycombed with bell-shaped excavations, formerly rice granaries; evidently showing that in former times, neither the herds nor the grain were considered safe outside the fortifications. The platforms on which several of the houses were built, and some of the walls, as well as those lining the most ancient of the cattle folds, exhibited a manner of building which is seen in some of the oldest gateways of the capital, and the most ancient of the stone-built tombs. The stones, a gneiss or granite in small pieces, seldom more than one or two inches thick, and less than a foot long, are built up without cement, and with extreme regularity and evenness, very different from all modern gateways or tombs. The natives say it was the manner of building in the time of their ancestors.

An extensive raised pavement of large flat stones beneath some magnificent ancient trees was pointed out as the forecourt of the former sovereign. I asked several of the men by whom were the embankments, gates, &c., made, and they said Andriamasinavelona, a chief who is supposed to have lived about a hundred years ago. There appeared to be about a hundred houses in the place, and there could not be more than five hundred people.

I was interested in seeing a number of the inhabitants of the place sitting on the eastern side of the high bank which surrounds the village, in the early morning when the water carriers were coming home with the jars of water on their heads, when the slave boys and girls were driving the few lean cows and the better conditioned sheep out of the gates, as they do every morning, to the borders and fallow rice fields, where they watch them through the day to prevent them from injuring the crops, and at sunset bring them home to the fold near the house for the night. Flocks of ducks and geese were driven out to the shallow, swampy places, and water-courses, where they were tended and then brought home in the same way. The

grounds cultivated with sweet potatoes, French beans, manioc, and other edible vegetables, and a few fruit trees, were seen stretching for a considerable distance on the outside of the deep fosse to the west and south of the village.

In the middle of the day I went, in company with a number of the people, to see the house at Ambohimanjaka, two miles distant, where nine of the Christians were confined in fetters during the last persecution. One who survived was with us, and it was gratifying to see the kindly recognition which took place between this Christian woman and a slave woman who had charge of the place, and who had shown the Christians every possible kindness during their imprisonment. I also saw the village of Alatsinaina, half a mile distant, round the market place of which the Christians in fetters were dragged every market day. While we were there, a number of Christians, sisters, and other relatives of one who was stoned at Fiadana, came from Manankasana, a village about four miles due north, where there is a small Christian congregation. The owner of the place we visited on this occasion is a heathen priest; but he exchanged salutations as we passed his door where he and his wife were standing.

In going and returning we passed along the foot of a barren granite mountain, among the large blocks at the summit of which is a small house, sacred to Ramahavaly, the serpent idol. To this place the idol is taken, once at least every year, to be anointed with fat; and when the votaries of the idol find any snakes, they are taken there alive as to their home. This rocky summit is a barren, dreary place, said to abound with snakes, some of them of large size.

It was a bright moonlight evening after we returned to our quarters, and we heard, while sitting in the house, the public crier going round the village, and summoning the people to assemble and receive a kabary. I thought it must be something urgent and alarming that called the people together at that hour, but was informed that it was only an order about

some government work, and that kabarys were often delivered by moonlight.

I had agreed to spend the next day, which was Sunday, with the people. They held a prayer meeting early in the morning, and on going at nine o'clock to the chapel, I found a number of persons around the door and windows, unable to find room inside, for some of the Christians from Ambohimanga and Manankasana had walked five or six miles that morning to spend part of the day with us. There were upwards of two hundred present, and the assembly wore an aspect of cheerful gladness which it was refreshing to behold. Rainikioto, one of the pastors from Ambohimanga, prayed, read the Scriptures, and preached an excellent discourse. His affectionate earnestness of manner as well as the valuable instruction which his sermon conveyed, enhanced my estimate of this amiable and devoted young minister of Christ. After singing, Randrara, the Christian minister from Manankasana, read the Scriptures and prayed, and I preached to the people.

When the services were over, the ministers and Christians from the villages already mentioned took affectionate leave of us, and departed in order to reach home in time for afternoon worship with their respective congregations. At three o'clock I went again to the chapel, where the congregation, though not so numerous as in the morning, was remarkably attentive, and the singing, as I have noticed in several of the village congregations, was simple and somewhat plaintive.

Later in the day, the ministers of the place and a number of Christians joined our evening conversation and worship; and I was gratified by the evidence which the events of the day and the statements of the people afforded of their love for the word and the ordinances of the Saviour. I was also cheered by the hope inspired by the accounts I received, that, as soon as increased agency could be provided, the Gospel would spread more widely among the adjacent villages, the scene of the martyrs' sufferings, and also the neighbourhood of the venerated

and ancient home of one of their most renowned national idols. The sacred mountain, by the village of Ambohitany, the chief residence of the idol Ramahavaly (able to answer), and inhabited only by his guardians and servants, is situated midway between the village at which I was staying and Ambohimanga.

Early on Monday morning we took leave of our kind friends at Imerinamandrosa, and, passing between the still standing stone pillars of the eastern gateway and over the deep fosse outside, commenced our journey home. The weather was cloudy and drizzling, the wind from the south-east sharp and cold. During the first part of the way we met numbers of people carrying rofia fibre from Moramanga, forty miles east of the capital; also cotton, rolls of tobacco, and other articles of sale, to the Monday market, near which the Christians had been confined. After travelling about a mile, we began the gradual ascent of the range of hills, of which Ambohimanga forms the abrupt eastern termination, and, descending on the opposite side, passed soon after the village of Ambohitany, situated at the foot of a hill, on the summit of which the great idol is kept.

Passing on our way between two villages named Sahafa, and leaving other extensive villages to the north, we came near Ilazaina, where there are a number of Christians whom I had not been able to visit, we travelled along the broad level road by Asabotsy, and reached home during the forenoon, having suffered as much from the cold wind and driving rain as at any time during my stay in Madagascar. I went down in the afternoon of the same day to Ambatonakanga, to see some of the Christians and the workmen of the church; also called on some of the missionaries, and was glad to find all going on well.

A number of Christians residing in the city, but hitherto worshipping at Analakely, had obtained an extremely eligible piece of ground near the edge of Andohalo, adjacent to the road leading to Faravohitra, and having erected there a neat place of worship for their temporary accommodation, it was opened for worship on the 22nd of October. Most of the mis-

sionaries were present, and the new place promises to become an important centre of usefulness under the care of Mr. Hartley, whose congregation includes a number of intelligent and devoted Christians.

Passing through Andohalo, about a fortnight afterwards, to attend my Bible class, I found a kabary gathered to receive a message from the queen. This message required all the non-military men, and also the slaves, to braid and tie up their hair in small knots, and to discontinue the wearing of hats. Avowedly, this was ordered that they might be distinguished from the military, who wore their hair straight and cut.

They were also ordered to report themselves to their respective chiefs, that they might be forthcoming when required to fetch timber from the forests, or to engage in any other of the government works. The prohibition against wearing hats was felt to be a great and needless inconvenience to many who had long been accustomed to wear them, and no one could see the least advantage to be derived from such prohibition.

Our Bible class that evening was rendered interesting by an announcement from Razafy, one of our congregation whom I had baptized a few months before, that she was about to visit her native place in the Sakalava country, a month's journey to the north-west from Antananarivo. Razafy, with two brothers, had, when all were quite young, been seized and brought away as booty by the troops of the expedition sent against that part of the country by the late Queen Ranavalona, in 1849. On reaching the capital, all had been sold as slaves, and she, since the death of the queen, had become a Christian, had been married to a Christian husband, and had two children—one an infant in arms. Her brothers, both Christians, had returned some months before to their native place, where they had found their parents still living, and who, they sent word, were longing to see her and her children. She added that her master, who is a Christian, agreed to her going, accompanied or followed by her husband. Her brothers had sent the intel-

ligence that there were several persons in that part of the country learning to read, and also inquiring about the Gospel; and she wished to take with her a few spelling-books and copies of the Scriptures.

The Christians present were all deeply interested in Razafy's projected journey, and in our closing prayers she was specially commended to the guidance and blessing of the Most High; while earnest desires were expressed that the visit of the brothers and sister might be the means of communicating the knowledge of Christ to their parents, and of introducing the blessed Gospel of salvation to that part of the country. I saw her master two days afterwards, and he gave her an excellent character. When she called to take leave, before setting out on her journey, I gave her some books, with a few words of encouragement; and I mention the incident to show the marvellous ways by which God is spreading the knowledge of the Gospel among the inhabitants of this land. Andakabe is the name of the place where the parents of this Christian woman reside, and her master also comes from the same neighbourhood.

A short time after this, my friend Rainitavy, the Christian commandant at Tamatave, informed me that his daughter, who was about to be married, wished her marriage to be celebrated in our chapel, on the 3rd of December. I was surprised to see, at the appointed time, a bridal party of between fifty and sixty persons enter the place. The father and mother, on this occasion, seated themselves one on each side of the bride, an interesting, good-looking young woman, under twenty years of age—the bridegroom two or three years older. Both acquitted themselves with the greatest propriety. The father and mother were much affected during some parts of the ceremony, and there was more feeling than I expected shown by several members of the family. After the ceremony, the bride signed the register without much trepidation, and when the witnesses had signed, the bride's eldest sister, the first-born of the family, added, in a clear hand, her signature to that of the witnesses.

It was pleasing to see the interest taken by the family in the proceeding, showing how Christianity hallows the ties of family and blood.

On the 17th of the same month, I paid my long-promised visit to Lazaina, an extensive and important village a few miles south of Ambohimanga, and situated in the centre of a number of villages connected with the latter place. Formerly it was a populous and flourishing place; but when the father of the first Radama conquered Antananarivo and made it his capital, the chief families of Lazaina and the adjacent villages removed thither, drawing supplies and wealth from the places of their former residence. Still there are a number of good-sized houses, in excellent condition, in the place, several newly-built. The remains of the ancient defences are inferior to those of Imerinamandrosa; but the character of the interior was much the same, except that the excavated cattle-folds were larger in size and fewer in number.

The rice grounds around were extensive and well-cultivated, and in many of the enclosures, plantains, peach trees, figs, pomegranates, cape-mulberry, the Chinese loquat, and guava, with some kinds of acacias, were frequently seen. The ancient ditch was in many places nearly filled up, and planted with sweet potatoes and bananas. Manioc was extensively grown outside the ditch, where there were also a number of homesteads, and sometimes plantations of edible vegetables, enclosed within high walls, generally in good repair.

Ravoninahitrarivo, the present treasurer of the government, is the noble of greatest influence in this place; and a number of the head people of Lazaina are connected with the church and congregation at Ambatonakanga. Nothing in this place struck me so much as the vast number of children. I counted about a hundred and sixty gathered in front of my window before I had been an hour in the house, and most of an age suitable for school. I found about two hundred Christians belonging to Lazaina, and a nice new chapel at Vavahady, in

the centre of the village, was in course of erection. I asked how they obtained such an excellent site. They said it was the site of an ancient gateway, and belonged to the village; and the heads of the people, Christian and heathen, had readily consented to their occupying it, for all in the village were very friendly to one another. I was delighted to receive such a testimony, and thought it augured well for the progress of the Gospel. There was a small school, but the master was not efficient, and I asked them if they could not select a young man to be trained as a schoolmaster for the village, in our school at the capital. This was one of the villages in which, during the time of the former missionaries, a school had been established by order of the government, and in which the progress of the children was encouraging; but the wholesale manner in which the scholars were afterwards drafted direct from the school to the army, in which so many of them perished in the wars of depredation and annexation of that period, had prevented the parents being very anxious for the opening of public schools.

After walking through the village and some of the plantations outside, I returned to the nice clean house which had been provided for our accommodation, and during the evening the greater part of the Christians who were at home paid me a visit, some of them uniting in our evening worship, and remaining afterwards until a late hour. I did not attend the early prayer-meeting the next morning, which was Sunday, but went between eight and nine o'clock to their place of worship, a large respectable house with verandahs to the lower and upper stories; it belonged to one of the Christians, and was used for public worship while their new chapel was building. There were about a hundred persons present, all belonging to the village. I was pleased with their seriousness and attention, as well as with their natural and simple kind of singing. Besides the usual prayers, two short discourses were preached, one by the village pastor, the other by myself. It was very

pleasing to see the rural congregation as they left the door exchange their simple greetings, and then parents and children walk cheerfully away towards their different homes.

In the afternoon I went to Ambohimanga, about three or four miles distant, where I found the congregation assembled. The chapel used at the time was half a mile beyond the village. The chief pastor had gone to preach at a distant village, and a number of the people living in that direction had gone to their worship, but about sixty assembled, and their simple earnestness and attention, together with the conversation I had with them afterwards, rendered the service to me particularly interesting. They had been gratified by an increase of their numbers since my last visit, though at times greatly distressed by the enmity and bigotry of the heathen, and the wickedness of the place. I endeavoured to encourage them, telling them, before I left, that, situated as they were, they must not be surprised at the trials of the position which they occupied, nor refrain from communicating to the people the light of the Gospel, which could dispel the darkness, and was the balm which could heal the moral maladies so pestilent around them.

A number of Christians came to my house at Lazaina in the evening, and our conversation was unusually interesting. I learned that immediately opposite my lodgings, and only a few yards across the street, was the house in which Ranivo was born, and next to which several members of her family still resided. Ranivo was the gentle, but heroic young Christian woman, who was sentenced in 1849 to be cast over the fatal precipice, because she prayed to God, and who was forced to see thirteen of her Christian companions destroyed, to induce her to recant and take a heathen oath. Refusing to do this, she was pronounced by the executioner to be an idiot, and delivered to her relatives.

Some of those who were connected with this youthful confessor had been among my earlier visitors, and had formed part

of the congregation in the morning of the day. The simple fact that I had worshipped in the same congregation, and conversed in the same room with some so nearly related, so like in appearance and spirit to one, the fragrance of whose memory can never now be tainted, and which time will only strengthen and refine, produced an agreeable effect upon my own mind, and I did not marvel at finding a simple, natural garden of the Lord, in a soil which had so early produced such fruits unto Christ.

On the following day I went to a place beyond Ambohimanga, where I was overtaken by a sudden and violent thunderstorm, and was exposed on the bleak rocky mountain side to the drenching rain, except where we found temporary shelter under the beetling rocks. The natives, with two or three exceptions, were perfectly useless, crouching down under the rocks insensible and indifferent to everything except immediate shelter. It rained as we passed the gate of Ambohimanga on our return, but some of the authorities met us with a present, which I said ought to be doubly prized when given under such circumstances. As we passed along the road from the higher parts of the mountain the red and muddy flood rushed down in a torrent more than ancle deep; but the rain ceased before we had proceeded far, and on entering Lazaina, little more than three miles distant, we found the village comparatively dry, there having been only a slight rain in that locality.

My house was again thronged with Christians in the evening, when I urged them to finish their chapel, and promised them some assistance. It was accordingly completed in a few months, and neatly fitted up; and, in company with Mr. Cousins and some of the preachers from the capital, I had the pleasure of taking part in the religious services at the opening, and also of assisting them on the same day in selecting and appointing their church officers, only a few months before my departure from Madagascar.

I also urged them to send a young man to Antananarivo, to

be trained as a schoolmaster; and early the following morning took leave of my friends at Lazaina, proceeding across the country in a south-easterly direction to the woody, and at one time, royal village of Ilafy, where the native Christians have recently erected an excellent place of worship, capable of holding five hundred people.

My intercourse with the inhabitants was on this occasion interrupted by the threatening aspect of the weather, which became so dark and lowering, that I hastily took leave; Rainivelo, a friend who had accompanied me from the capital, and myself, with two boys carrying a leather bag containing a change of clothing, set out to return. We had scarcely proceeded more than a mile, when the storm burst upon us with fearful violence. The thunder and lightning was as fearfully appalling as that of any tropical storm I had ever witnessed, and the rain seemed to come down in streams. I certainly never was out in so furious a tempest, the lightning dazzling almost to blindness, the thunder nearly deafening, and the concussion of the air terrific.

It made no difference that my heavy great coat had been previously sent home. No thickness of covering could have kept any part of me dry. The water came through my hat, and I could feel it passing down my back until it filled my boots, and streamed over them; and from my legs, which hung down from my seat, it poured into the flood below, for every part of the surface of the ground was covered with water. The road was often quite an eddying stream, and in descending the clayey, slippery sides of the hollows, my bearers were in great danger of being washed from their foot-hold down into the boiling, frothing stream. We often had to leave the beaten road, and make a considerable circuit to cross some hollow at a broader and shallower part. For more than an hour we staggered on our difficult course, without the least prospect of any place of shelter, the bearers sometimes utterly unable to force their way against the fury of the driving storm, and literally standing still for some minutes on a solid level

part of the flooded road. It was towards sunset when we reached the city, having been more than two hours travelling about five miles, or, with slight deviations from the road, perhaps somewhat more. On reaching home I found that the rain had been less in the capital than at Ilafy, or the intervening space; and after immediately taking advantage of dry clothing and comfortable refreshment, I did not suffer more than temporary inconvenience from the storm.

A kind friend to the Malagasy, and especially to the young, had, with the assistance of friends in London, purchased a very handsome present of good toys for the children in the schools at Antananarivo, and had confided them to my care for distribution. They had arrived most opportunely, for Christmas was at hand, and, assisted by the missionaries, I divided them into lots, according to the number of the schools. There was an examination of the scholars at Christmas, and when we had any presents, it was our custom to give them as rewards to the best behaved and most industrious scholars.

Early in the morning of the day before Christmas, and two days after my return from Ilafy, I went down to Ambatonakanga to assist in distributing the prizes to our children. I found the children all there, and some of the fathers and mothers with them. There were ninety-eight scholars in that school. The master and mistress had prepared a list of the most deserving, in the order of their merits. Their names were read over, and they were told that some kind friends in England, in the hope of encouraging them in attention and good behaviour, had sent out some presents for their amusement, such as the boys and girls in England were very much pleased with.

The toys and rewards for the boys, and those for the girls, were laid out in separate places. The presents for the girls consisted of a number of very nice wax and other dolls, boxes of dolls' furniture, or of tea-things, a Noah's ark, a kaleidoscope, scissors, thimbles, needles, haberdashery, with

dresses, or pieces of cloth to make them. The most deserving girl was first called, and so in succession. This favoured little girl, who happened to be the daughter of one of the preachers, was told to look over the presents ranged on the table, and choose that which she liked best. They had none of them seen any of the articles before, perhaps nothing in the shape of toys of the kinds here displayed. The little girl cast one glance down the table, and without a moment's hesitation took up the largest doll, and holding it in her arms, with her head hung down over it, walked back to where her mother was sitting. The other girls followed in the order of their merit, and each one with equal promptness chose a doll, until they were all appropriated. The prize that was next chosen was the Noah's ark, then the kaleidoscope, and afterwards the other articles.

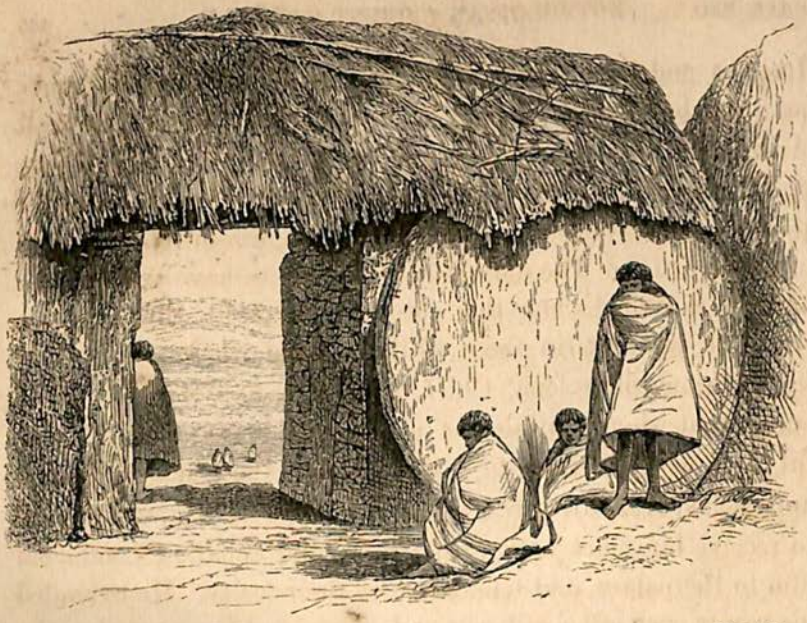
The schoolmaster then called up the boys in the same way. I was curious to see what they would prefer. The first boy chose a Noah's ark, the next the model of a railway train, the next a small spy-glass, and the next a kaleidoscope. After these, every boy that came up chose a pocket knife, then traps and balls, humming-tops, pipes and whistles, and other playthings. When all those who had been recommended by the master and mistress had been rewarded, we gave some toy or present to each of the other scholars who were there, as a stimulant for the ensuing year.*

Glancing round occasionally, I could not but notice that each possessor of a doll, which was already enveloped in a part of its owner's lamba, or scarf, was the centre of an excited and eagerly

* We were all thankful to the kind friend who had sent out these English toys for the children in the schools. Some of them not only afforded them amusement, but conveyed new ideas of things of which they had only heard; and a friend of mine, Lieut.-Col. Anson, who took great interest in the children when he was in Madagascar, has recently conferred a greater favour on the scholars by sending over, in addition to a supply of picture-books, a number of metal models of engines, and different kinds of machines, which will instruct and stimulate, as well as tend to make their pursuit of knowledge pleasant.

gazing crowd of girls, and that the doll was perpetually held up and turned round, that its face and arms might be seen, and then again pressed closely to the side of its happy and envied possessor. I observed that when they walked about, the doll was still folded in the lamba, laid on the arm, and pressed with something like maternal instinct to the side, though none had ever seen a doll before. No one appeared satisfied until they had looked at and examined what the others had obtained; and it seemed for the moment as if the pocket knives were, with the boys, considered the greatest treasures. The parents who were present were scarcely less astonished and pleased than the children, and I was gratified when, as we were dismissing the latter, several of the parents stood up, and thanked us and their friends in England for sending such rare and nice things to encourage their children to learn what was good. The same excitement and pleasure was experienced when the distribution of the toys took place at other schools. The boys soon learned how to play at trap-ball, humming-top, &c., and there was quite a commotion in some of the neighbourhoods when the boys began their games with the new playthings. I suppose older people must have caught the happy infection, for the same afternoon I found myself playing with my landlord at battledore and shuttlecock, and with his boys at trap-ball. The slaves in the whole establishment came round, first to look, and then, under the excitement of the novel scene, to take part in the game.

Besides my journeys to the villages in the north, I frequently visited our large and excellently situated place of worship and school on the east side of the capital. I also travelled to the east, and on these occasions, crossing over the great northern road, just above my dwelling, and descending the hill somewhat abruptly for about three hundred yards on the opposite side, I reached a space of comparatively level ground, where a large stone gateway stands, through which the main road passes leading to our large chapel, and forward through



Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis. Page 465.

ANKADIBEVAVA.

Ancient Gateway, closed by a Rolling Stone. Inner Side.

Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis. Page 465.

ANKADIBEVAVA.

City Gate. Eastern or Outer Side.

Imerina, and the intervening provinces, to Tamatave and other parts of the eastern coast. This gate, which the natives call An-ka-di-be-va-va (the large mouth or entrance by the fosse) and Am-ba-va-ha-di-mi-ta-fo (the gate with a cover), is one of the largest I have seen in Imerina, and is also in the best state of preservation. The natives do not seem to have any definite idea of the time when this gateway was built. The earliest notice of it occurs in the tradition of the seizure of the city by Andriamasinavalona, Chief of Alasora to the S.E. It is stated that when, during the absence of his brother, the lawful chief, who had gone to a distant part, the Chief of Alasora approached Ankadibevava, the people, who had been persuaded to receive him, met him with drums and shouting, conducted him to the palace, and tendered him their fealty. He extended his power over other villages and clans, and is regarded as the first King of Imerina. He reigned in Antananarivo, originally called Ialamanga, about 150 years ago. Antananarivo had only become the residence of the chief of a tribe four generations, probably about 100 years, before the first Hova king entered by this passage. As the ancient walls, to which the gateway seems to have belonged, must have been built during the latter period, there is great probability that this gateway has been erected 200 years. The Vazimba, the earliest inhabitants of Imerina, constructed stone houses, and stone platforms, with exactly the same material, a thin laminated gniess or granite, built up in small pieces, and very exactly joined, specimens of which are seen in some of the tombs, and in ruins of ancient structures in different parts of the country.

The opening or gateway is five feet wide, and the wall is six feet in thickness. The height inside the passage through the wall is eight or more feet; and the angles in which the wall and the side of the passage unite, are formed by upright blocks of granite firmly planted in the ground, and reaching nearly to the top, which is formed by three or four flat stones laid horizontally on the top of the side walls. Upon

these the wall is continued, and over the gateway it is covered with thatch, which presents an incongruous association of perishable, decayed, and durable materials.

The gateway on the outer side is approached by a number of large loose stones, at one time probably forming a pavement and steps up the paved floor of the passage, but displaced by the water flowing through in the rainy season. The entrance to the gateway on the inner side is a step lower than the rocky level around it, the width and height being the same as on the opposite side. On each side of this opening, square upright stones are firmly fixed in the ground, and about six inches outside the corners of the passage, along the rock at the bottom, between the upright stones and the wall, a groove is cut. When the passage through is open, a circular, granite slab, about six feet in diameter, stands against the wall on the right hand side. When the passage is to be closed, this slab, which resembles a grindstone in form, is rolled along the groove between the stones outside and the wall, until it covers the entrance to the passage. It was kept close against the wall by the upright stones on the inner side, thus effectually barring all entrance to the capital from without.

In the photograph of this simple and rude structure, the figures in front of the circular stone are school-boys; those on the opposite side are men and boys together, and furnish the means of estimating the dimensions of the gateway. Ankadibevava is one of the most remarkable and best preserved relics of past generations which I have met with in the country. The gates among the Bazanozano were all constructed upon the same plan, and the entrance closed by rolling a similar stone before it. It is to be hoped that the present government, who preserve so carefully the customs of their ancestors, will not allow this interesting monument of the dawning of intellect and skill in past generations, to become a ruin, and pass away through indifference and neglect.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Journey in search of limestone—The remarkable tomb of Rainiharo—Fertile and extensive valley of Betsimitatatra—Reapers in the harvest-field—The bridge at Ambaniala—Hill of observation—Valley of the silkworm trees—Our lodging-house—Its interior arrangement and inmates—Parklike scenery and beauty of the valley—Extensive mountain scenery—The valley of Madera—Abundance of limestone—Proposal for its transport to the Capital—The bridge over the Andromba—Agreement with the government and the people for the limestone—Raising the first pillar of the Queen's new palace—Curious reasons for specific measurements—Dragging of timber, &c.—Progress of the work—Treaty concluded with England—Official declaration of the government respecting the churches—Price of Provisions, &c.—Grateful feelings of the Christians—Last services with the Christians—Farewell interview with the Queen—Meeting with Mr. Pool and others—State of the Church—Departure from the Capital—Halting at Ambatomanga—Departure from Mauritius—Return to England—Review of events in Madagascar—Present state and prospects of the people.

THE customs of the Malagasy seem to require that each successive sovereign, instead of occupying the residence left by the departed ruler, should build a palace for his or her especial accommodation; and a few days after the return from the north, and less than two years after the revolution, it was proposed to commence a palace for Rasoherina. Application was made to Mr. Cameron, who had constructed some important buildings for the government, to furnish a plan, and to superintend the building. When he informed me of the application, and stated that whatever time was taken from his engagement with the Missionary Society should be made up from what he should receive for his services, I expressed my entire approval of his undertaking the work, and suggested that instead of receiving

money, he should stipulate for permission for us to quarry limestone sufficient for the construction of the memorial churches; for lime being at that time a government monopoly, it was only to be obtained in small quantities, of inferior quality, and at exorbitant cost. We had procured a quantity of satin spar (arragonite) but had failed to make lime with it.

Mr. Cameron acted on my suggestion, and in return for his service as architect, in furnishing the plan and superintending the building of the palace, we were to employ as many men as we chose, to blast and quarry as much limestone as we could separate from the rock in one month, at any of the places where limestone was found, sending to fetch it away afterwards. He was also to receive a small sum to pay for bearers, &c. I felt grateful for this arrangement, as the building of the church then in progress had been more impeded by want of lime than by any other cause, and the impediments from this cause were not likely to be less in the future.

The principal quarry, Antsirabe, is forty miles to the south of the capital, and there is no water carriage; but it was reported that limestone existed much nearer, and in a direction admitting of transport by water over the chief part of the distance. On the 3rd of May I set out, therefore, in company with Mr. Cameron, two officers, and Rasalama, a Christian native acquainted with the localities where the limestone was said to exist, in order to ascertain the quality, quantity, &c., of the stone.

Our way led past the tomb of Rainiharo, the father of the late and the present prime minister. This tomb, which occupied four years in the building, though the work at intervals extended over nine years, is one of the largest and most remarkable structures of the kind in the country. The lower storey, and actual tomb, which is nearly sixty feet square, and about thirteen feet high, is surrounded by a piazza, or colonnade, supported on arches springing from massive stone pillars, and is surmounted by a balustrade of stone

work, two or three feet high. Within the balustrade, a smaller and open square of pillars, united by arches, and about ten feet high, is raised at the east end, above the part where the body lies. A massive pedestal, bearing a sort of obelisk surmounted by a pillar, terminated by a lightning conductor, rises to the height of upwards of twenty feet at each angle of the piazza on the east or front side of the tomb. The entrance is on the top, and is reached by a flight of steps from the west. This last resting-place was built by its present occupant, who is reported to have asked his sons, while it was still in course of erection, to "open the door sometimes, and allow the sun to shine in upon him."

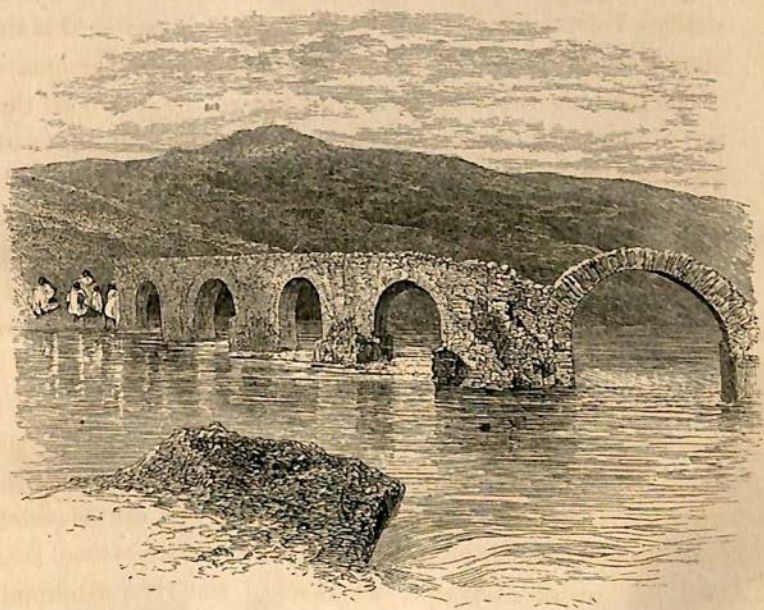
Soon after leaving Isotry, the site of the tomb, we passed the market for fuel, and crossing the bridge Andrefanisotry, travelled along the broad causeway built across the once reed-covered swamp, but now fertile, level, and carefully-cultivated plain of Betsimitatatra, the unfailing granary of Antananarivo, at this time stretching north and south over hundreds of acres of freshly reaped or yellow ripening grain, God's bountiful gift to the seventy thousand inhabitants of the city and its suburbs.

The fields of rice, separated from each other by narrow borders of earth, were some of them already reaped, and the water drawn off; in others the reapers were cutting the grain with a short stout sickle, or serrated-edged knife slightly curved inward towards the point. Here the water, nearly up to the reapers' ancles, was spread over the field, and the handfulls of freshly-reaped grain, when the grass and creepers were struck off the bottom of the straw, were laid in rows on the top of the stubble, which was higher than the water. Women followed the reapers, and with the grass and weeds tied up the grain in sheaves, which they laid on the stubble, covering the ears of the first sheaf with the root end of the next, so that the sheaves lay in lines across the field instead of standing up in shocks. In other places women were carrying bundles of dried sheaves on their heads to the threshing floor; and further on, we passed

others beating out the grain on the threshing stone, or winnowing it in the gentle breeze. It was quite refreshing, after leaving the barren, stony, dusty streets of the city, to find oneself in the midst of such delightful rural scenery and occupations, more especially as it seemed very pleasant work to all engaged; while the liveliness of the scene was enhanced by the gay-coloured aquatic flowers in the water courses, especially one large, bright, yellow-flowered, slender creeper, called by the natives Volondrano (hair of the water), which was at this time abundant, and pleasantly fringed the borders of the streams.

On reaching the western end of the causeway, where there was a small fruit market on the bank, we turned to the south, and travelling along a broad high embankment between the plain and a wide canal for a couple of miles, enjoying all the way an excellent view of the capital, we reached the long, irregular bridge of thirteen arches, which crosses the river at Ambaniala. This bridge, which was built by Radama, was entire when I visited it in company with him in 1856; but on this occasion I found it partly broken, though it could still be crossed. Leaving Antanjombato on the western bank, we proceeded to the next river, crossed by a bridge of seventeen arches going to decay; and after travelling in a south-westerly course for some miles, often through fields of fine, strong, large-eared rice, apparently ripe, we reached the river Andromba, which we crossed by a well-built bridge of five arches, slightly broken at the western end. Nearly a mile further on we came to Ambatomborona, a regularly-formed conical hill, apparently basalt, about five hundred feet above the plain, and very conspicuous from the western side of the city.

Mr. Cameron and I ascended this hill to take the bearings and distances of the palace, about twelve miles off, and other remarkable places, both mountains and villages. The country in the neighbourhood of Madera was visible to the west, and to the south of Andromba we saw very distinctly Antsahandinta (valley of leeches), once a missionary station occupied by Mr.



Photographed by Rev. W. Ellis. Page 470.

BRIDGE OVER THE ANDROMBA, BUILT BY RADAMA II.

Rowlands. Mr. Cameron had a good compass, with which I found mine agree tolerably well, though there was considerable disturbance occasioned by the iron in the hill.

We now proceeded over a comparatively level country, with good soil, Fenoarivo being about seven miles to the north, and Antongana, where Mr. Toy has an out-station, seemed to be about the same distance. I made a sketch of the latter, a high and singularly double-peaked mountain. After halting for refreshment, we forded the broad and somewhat deep river Katsaoka, and continuing our way through many villages and cultivated grounds, entered, a little before sunset, the basin or broad valley of Ankazondandy (the valley of the silk-worm tree), so called from the number of trees, the leaves of which furnish the food of the kind of silk-worm found in that neighbourhood.

We saw chalk, on or near the surface of the ground, in considerable masses, in two different places; but the very short twilight obliged us to seek lodgings for the night, which we found in the village of Ambohimanjaka, where we were conducted by the officers to the best-looking house it contained. On approaching, we crossed the ditch, entered by the threshing-floor within, and, passing through the cattle-fold, which the occupants had just entered, we were led to the house. Stepping within the door, we saw two or three good-sized pigs, grumbling for their supper, as they were being forced away to that part of the house just opposite to the door, which was appropriated to their accommodation. Women were catching and bringing in cocks and hens, and then poking them through a hole in the matting to their roost above the pigs. The screaming of the fowls as they were successively squeezed through the hole, prevented for some time the exchange of salutations between us and our hosts. Besides the sty for the pigs, the inside of the house was divided by a line of short rails fixed across the centre. At the further end we observed a bedstead and hearth, and, as this was appropriated to our accommodation, we entered

through a narrow gate, glad to rest while our boys kindled a fire and prepared us some supper. Above the part of the house occupied by animals and poultry, was a kind of loft, at one end of which stood a stout pole, with three or four deep notches cut on one side, which served as a staircase. The loft was spread with dried grass or rice straw, covered with mats, and appeared to be the sleeping-place of our host and his wives, for the household had betaken themselves up-stairs, and, from their elevated position, were intently watching our motions. When Mr. Cameron asked our host why he did not come down, he said he was afraid of the foreigners. He was at length persuaded to descend, for a very short time, when he hurried up to the loft again; but we ascertained, by conversation with him, that there would be no objection to our taking any limestone or chalk that we might find. There had not been much search made for it, nor any large quantity found, and the means of transport, we heard, would be comparatively easy.

The fatigue of the journey made us soon ready to rest. Mr. Cameron lay down in his clothes, but, as soon as the light was extinguished, I undressed and lay down on my bedding on the floor, where I slept through a good part of the night, and we were all stirring early in the morning. But we did not find material for lime sufficient to justify commencing our labours here, and therefore prepared to depart. I had met with two or three apparently new and very nice plants, and was charmed with the extreme beauty of the valley. A small stream runs through part of it, and the banks and high ground above the stream were for some miles clothed with verdure and ornamented with a comparatively formal-growing tree, which, appearing singly or in clumps of four or five together, gave quite a park-like appearance to the whole of the northern and western sides of the valley, reminding me of some of the scenery of New South Wales, and of Africa, more so than any other parts I remember to have seen in Madagascar.

Taking leave of our friends, about nine o'clock we passed

out at the south end of the valley and up the side of a thinly-wooded hill to the village of Mahajanga, and soon after crossed a narrow stream flowing rapidly down a rocky bed to the north. The eastern peak of Ankaratra was visible the greater part of the day, but the higher and central peaks of this grand, massive cluster of broad-based mountains, along the northern base of which we were travelling, and whence arise so many of the rivers of this part of the country, were concealed by clouds throughout the day.

Charmed with the width of the valley and the vast range of country over which our view extended, as well as the grandeur of the lofty single mountains and the distant chains, which were visible both to the west and the south, we greatly enjoyed this part of our journey. Ambohimiangary, situated near the south-east end of the lake Itasy, said to be between twenty and thirty miles distant, was often conspicuous among the mountains to the west; while Lohavohitra, in the north, seemed to be a grand and towering landmark for that part of the country.

About noon we reached Madera. The superintendents of the men employed here in digging limestone and other materials for the government, welcomed us, and promised every assistance. We halted at the village of Faliandro (happy day), and afterwards went out to see the limestone-diggings on the opposite side of the valley. Here Mr. Cameron found a large quantity of unburnt siliceous limestone, with annelide tubes, which had been rejected by the workmen, but which, on being tested, proved to be excellent stone. We inquired what we should pay these people for bringing it to the capital, and they said they would tell us in the morning. Mr. Cameron was glad to meet with some who had been his friends during his former residence in Madagascar, and all appeared willing to assist in forwarding the object of our visit. A large, clean-looking house was provided for us, untenanted by pigs or fowls, but the lower part

of which was literally alive with fleas. I slept on some fresh rushes on the floor, and my companion on a bedstead; but we found ourselves both getting up silently and simultaneously to try how we could either protect ourselves or escape, but could do neither.

In the morning, the chiefs of the place said they would come to the capital in the following week, speak to the minister, and then give an answer to our proposal. This was the most satisfactory course they could adopt, and showed that they were willing to bring in the lime if there were no objections on the part of the government.

We set out on our return soon after eight o'clock, taking a more direct and northerly route, and promising the bearers extra pay to get home that night. As we approached Andromba, I told my bearers I had left my compass on the summit when we stopped there on our way out, and, offering to pay any one who would go for it, two or three set off, and very soon a young man, who had been with me on the summit, brought the compass down safely, and received his reward. We crossed the Andromba about three o'clock, and continued our course through a fertile and well-cultivated district. In many places the men were reaping and the women carrying the sheaves home. I took a sketch of some of their threshing-floors, where the stones on which they beat out the grain appeared like the joints of columnar basalt formation, such as those I had seen at the Giant's Causeway.

It was quite dark before we reached the broken bridge at Ambaniala, but we crossed in safety, and between nine and ten o'clock I reached home, pleased with the aspect of the country over which I had travelled, and grateful for the extent to which our object had been attained.

At the time appointed, the officers from Madera came and reported to the government the quantity of stone already quarried, and the government agreed to our having as much as was thought needful for the completion of the work in hand.

The officers engaged to have it prepared and sent to within a short distance of the capital; we have had no further difficulty, and, as it is only burnt and slaked as wanted for use, the masonry is in every respect better than it was before.

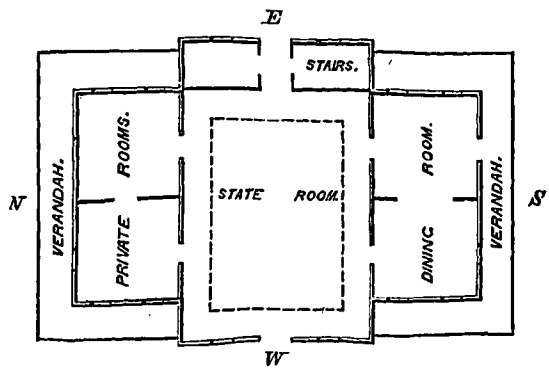
In the meantime, the queen was proceeding with preparations for the new building, and a brief notice of the course pursued will illustrate the manner in which government work is accomplished in Madagascar.

All Voromahery, viz., the men of the central division of the province, were ordered to undertake the work, which was apportioned by the minister and his assistants. Every officer was, in the first instance, required to bring a measure of lime, less than a bushel, towards building the stone platform, &c. Some had lime, others sent their slaves for limestone to parts of the country where it was to be found, and then sent the quantity required by the queen, and sold the rest. Those who had neither lime nor servants to send for stone, bought it; for to have failed to send the required quantity might, they feared, be remembered another day. Such was the effect of this sudden and unexpected demand, that the measure of lime, which we thought dear at a shilling, was now sold for five or six shillings, which price some of the officers paid. The nobles and others were then required to furnish stones and to build the platform. Some ancient stones, considered sacred, were brought from Ilafy to be built into the foundation. The nobles or officers were likewise required to furnish a specific quantity of timber, of given sizes. One of my own friends was absent more than a month in the forests, with forty men, felling, preparing, and bringing his portion of the timber, and others were absent for an equal or longer period.

As the site which the queen had selected was not large enough, it was extended and enclosed by a wall, said to be eight feet in height and the same in thickness. The centre was filled up with earth rammed down. The earth for the centre was brought from a distance by slaves, chiefly females,

in baskets on their heads; and from fifty to a hundred of the queen's female slaves fetched water, for the mortar and other purposes, from a pond in the hollow below my dwelling. About once every hour, for two or three days, I saw them pass in unbroken single line, each woman with a jar of water on her head. In the courtyard, the masons built up the massive wall, the highest nobles and officers superintending each his own dependents, while the newly-made premier sate by the side of the queen in the verandah of the great palace, watching the progress of the work.

While this was going on, Mr. Cameron had prepared and presented a plan for a building in our Elizabethan style; but as this required too great a deviation from the orthodox principles of Malagasy architecture, both in walls and roof, another plan was prepared, in accordance with her majesty's wishes, and approved by her advisers. The ground-plan of this building, according to the plan given me by Mr. Cameron, resembles a cross, of which the longest part is 61½ ft. in length, and 29½ ft. in width; but to each end of the longest part of the cross a verandah is to be added, which will give to the plan the form of a parallelogram, 72½ feet by 40. A gallery surrounds the upper part of the state room.



The whole of the upper storey is appropriated to her majesty's private use. The roof is steep, and contains four good rooms,

lighted by windows in the four gables, which are surmounted by lightning conductors. The glazed sash-windows are furnished with panelled shutters within, and venetian shutters without. Such are the chief features of the plan.

The house, according to the injunction of the royal ancestor, is to be entirely of wood, and the queen requested that the planks, forming the outside walls, might all be fixed upright, as are the walls of the other houses in the city. These planks are five inches in thickness, beaded at the edges, and grooved and tongued in the joints. The roof is covered with shingles or tiles of wood, for which the forests supply excellent material. The dimensions of the principal parts were arranged according to the queen's own measurement, and, in the above statement, they are reduced to our English standard. The refy, or fathom, is the standard of all the measurements, and the fathom, as measured by the queen herself, is five feet three inches English. The smaller measurements are portions of the fathom, as the length from the end of the queen's fingers to her shoulder, also the length of her span. The adoption of this mode of determining the proportions of the building causes so many single inches and half inches in the plan.

The obtaining of the timber was the most laborious work connected with the building. Chiefs went away with their men, in numbers from ten to fifty or more, to the forests north, east, or south, to a distance of twenty, thirty, or more miles, and when they had felled the trees, and obtained the required amount and kind of timber, the bringing or dragging it over hill and valley, up steep, rugged, and precipitous places, where the ascent is difficult, often appeared to me the severest work the slaves ever had to perform. The largest trees, stripped of all their branches, are dragged by ropes. Sometimes rollers are used, but not always. The heavier kinds of planks, made out of a tree split by wedges down the centre, and reduced by the hatchet, are carried by two or four men on their shoulders. Lighter planks are carried by a single individual. If there is a

large number of planks to be conveyed, the noble or chief goes with his men to show his own loyalty, and also to encourage them, I believe, much to the satisfaction of the labourers. I have seen the people thus employed in their encampments in the forest, or in hamlets where they have been halting on the road; I have gone along with them when they were going out, and have met or passed them on their return; but never saw them either dragging or carrying their timber without great commiseration, as I noticed some of them lame, footsore, and often stretched on the roadside quite exhausted. Two things, however, always afforded some alleviation. The men were often accompanied by their wives, who carried the simple cooking utensils, and the sleeping mats, and perhaps a change of dress, and sometimes helped to drag the load. Another thing I have often seen with pleasure among the baggage — a Malagasy lokanga, a kind of native guitar; and at night, sometimes when, travelling near their halting places, I have seen the light from their encampment, and heard the sounds of their simple music, I have rejoiced that they possessed such a solace amidst their toils.

To the large trees the people attach ropes, or strongly twisted creepers, to both ends, and proceed in one or two rows, pulling with all their might, and singing or shouting as they pull. I have sometimes seen more than a hundred men dragging a single tree past my house, keeping time with the lokanga played on the way before them; while a young chief has every now and then jumped upon the log, and by shouts and gesticulations urged them on. Sometimes the chief walks first, but more frequently he brings up the rear. In the same way I have seen tribute or first fruits of the land brought to the sovereign.

I once saw a noble, whom I knew very well, carried past my house in his palanquin on his way to the palace, with a youth, playing on the lokanga, walking immediately behind him, and then about a hundred female slaves following singly, in Indian

file; those in the front being well dressed in short cotton jackets, with lambas round their waists; those in the rear with the hempen lamba or coarse rofiä cloth; while each one carried on her head a basket holding about half a bushel of rice, the tribute or first-fruit of the harvest to the queen. It was an interesting sight to the people, and the music on this occasion, as well as when they were dragging timber generally, drew out a number to gaze at the passers by. The chief, who brought the rice in this picturesque manner, was one of the old school, and averse to all innovations on the customs of their ancestors; and persons of this class were all gratified by the extent to which the queen, in the erection of her new palace, followed the ancestral customs.

This supreme regard to the opinions of the past, extends sometimes, not only to very minute particulars, as in their measurements, in which they manifest an aversion to all even numbers, but also to the grounds of these aversions, which are sometimes singularly fanciful. Hence they not only avoid even numbers, but numbers designated by words the sound of which resembles other words that have an unfavourable meaning. Thus they object to the number six, because *enina*, the word denoting it, resembles in sound *manenina*, to repent. The number eight in any measurement is not allowed, as Mr. Cameron informed me, because the word *valo* denoting that number, resembles, or rather rhymes with, the word for enemy—*fahavalo*. No measurement of six or eight has been permitted in the structure of the present palace. The attaching quality to words on account of their sound, not because of euphonic or other property in the sounds of those words, but because of the same sounds in other and different words conveying an unfavourable meaning, seemed to me a feature in philology peculiar to Madagascar.

The masons engaged in building the memorial church were required to work at the preparation of the massive platform for the palace, and afterwards on the stones for the pillars, the

steps, and other parts. We regretted the hindrance thus occasioned, but could not ask exemption. Every mason was ordered to attend, and it would have been considered just cause for complaint against our masons, had they been allowed to continue working for good wages, while others were employed in government service, which all are equally bound to render without pay. We, therefore, only asked that they might return as soon as the work for the queen's house would allow.

When the platform was finished, and a considerable supply of timber brought in, the carpenters of the same division were required to repair to the palace. The chief pillars of the house were prepared, and all was in readiness by the Saturday; but the diviners declared Sunday and Monday to be unlucky days,* and directed that the building of the house should begin on Tuesday, the 25th of April, on which day the first pillar was raised. The north-east corner of a house is considered the most sacred place, and the pillar at that angle is always the first that is set up. The queen had sent to borrow from our works at the church the crab, a sort of windlass or crane, to raise the pillars with. They were each to be placed in a shallow socket on a flat stone, and when the first was hoisted up to be fixed in its position, some of the old men objected to the use of the machine, which, instead of raising the post up in its place, lowered it down on the stone. These objections were, however, overruled by the officers, and the pillar was soon fixed in its position. Some of the diviners attached four kinds of plants to its base. One old man climbed up the post, and fastened near the top a piece of massive silver chain. As soon as the pillar was duly fixed, the queen, taking a small horn, filled with what might in their estimation be holy water,

* The requirements of the diviners were sometimes rather inconvenient. On one occasion, when there had been a long season of heat and drought, and there was some apprehension of fire, the diviners said that for one whole day there must be no fire lighted in the capital; and orders to that effect were issued. We were obliged to have the fire then burning in a kiln of lime, extinguished until the time of the interdict was past.

sprinkled it on the post, and pronounced a formulary of words separating, or rendering it sacred.

This kind of holy water is brought from a spring considered sacred, and sometimes a piece of silver or gold is immersed in it, and a prayer or incantation pronounced over it. When the queen had finished her part of the ceremony, a number of her relatives, members of the royal family, came, and receiving water from the queen, sprinkled it on the pillar, using the same words. The queen then took her seat in a chair placed a short distance to the north of the pillar, where she received the congratulations and the hasina of the members of the government and the officers, and afterwards of most of the heads of the people in the capital.

Intimation having been brought by two officers from the court that a visit from us would be acceptable, several members of the mission accompanied Mr. Cameron through the great palace-yard, which was filled with timber, and where not fewer than a hundred busy carpenters were at work. On reaching the site of the new house towards the eastern edge of the courtyard, we found her majesty seated beside a pomegranate tree, and beneath the shade of a spreading vine, attended by two or three of her female friends, and several officers. We offered our congratulations on the successful commencement of the building; and expressed our wishes that her majesty might have much happiness in the new residence. The queen acknowledged our good wishes, and thanked us for the use of the machine and appliances by which the pillar had been raised with such rapidity and ease. We then surveyed the platform, pillar, &c., and retired. One of the plants at the foot of the pillar appeared to me to be a species of papyrus, another was a branching fleshy-leaved plant called sampyvato (idol of the stone); the other two I did not know. The large silver chain, I was told, indicated that the owner of the house would always have money in his dwelling.

As in the building of the platform, the wood-work of the

palace was also apportioned among the nobles and high officers, and each superintended his own workmen. I sometimes saw from fifty to a hundred men employed in the yard preparing and fixing different parts of the work. Before I left the country the walls were completed, and the frame of the roof finished. Since that time the attention of the government has been directed to the payment of the Lambert compensation, and other public matters, and the palace is not yet finished, although the government were preparing to complete the structure when the last accounts were sent away.

The change in the government resulting from the revolution had rendered an alteration in the treaty between the Malagasy and the English governments necessary; and before the close of the year two Malagasy envoys had been sent to England, to make known the changes which the native government and people desired. After an absence of nearly twelve months, the envoys, as already stated, returned with a draft of the treaty which Earl Russell proposed to substitute for that previously arranged with the late king. In the month of June following this treaty was received by the British consul at the capital, and officially presented to the Malagasy government; and when the several conditions had been rendered agreeable to the respective parties, it was signed in the presence of the queen, the principal officers, and a number of foreigners, at the large palace. The following are the parts of the treaty which chiefly affect the English mission in Madagascar:—

"Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce between Her Majesty and the Queen of Madagascar.

"Signed in the English and Malagasy languages at Antananarivo, June 27, 1865.

"ARTICLE II.—The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall have full liberty to enter into, rent, or lease houses or lands in, trade with, and pass with their merchandise through, all parts

of the dominions of her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar which are under the control of a governor duly appointed by the Malagasy authorities, except Ambohimanga, Ambohimanambola and Amparafavato; and they shall enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages with regard to commerce, or with regard to any other matter whatsoever, which are now or may hereafter be granted to or allowed to be enjoyed by the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation, &c. . . . .

"ARTICLE III.—British subjects in the dominions of her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar shall be allowed freely to exercise and teach the Christian religion, and to erect and maintain suitable places of worship. Such places of worship, with their lands and appurtenances, shall, however, be recognised as the property of the Queen of Madagascar, who shall permit them to be applied for ever to the special purposes for which they shall have been built. They shall in the profession, exercise, and teaching of their religion receive the protection of the Queen and her officers, and shall not be persecuted or interfered with.

"Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, from her friendship for her Britannic Majesty, promises to grant full religious liberty to all her subjects, and not to persecute or molest any subjects or natives of Madagascar on account of their embracing or exercising the Christian religion. But should any of her subjects professing Christianity be found guilty of any criminal offence, the action of the law of the land shall not be interfered with.

"ARTICLE V.—British subjects shall be permitted, as freely as the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation, in any lawful manner to purchase, rent, or lease land, houses, warehouses, and all other kinds of property within all parts of the dominions of her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar which are under the control of a governor duly appointed by the Malagasy authorities. They shall be at liberty to build on land purchased, rented, or leased by them, houses of any mate-

rial they please, except of stone or clay at the capital of Madagascar, and other towns where such buildings are forbidden by the laws of the country; and her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar engages that British subjects shall, as far as lies in her power, equally with her own subjects, enjoy within her dominions, full and complete protection and security for themselves, and for any property which they may so acquire in future, or which they may have acquired already before the date of the proposed Treaty. . . . .

"No domiciliary visits shall be made to the establishments, houses, or properties possessed or occupied by British subjects, unless by the consent of the occupants, or in concert with the British consul.

"ARTICLE X.—If any vessels under the British flag should be wrecked on the coast of the dominions of the Queen of Madagascar, which are under the control of a governor duly appointed by the Malagasy authorities, her Majesty engages to give them all the assistance in her power, and to secure them from plunder, as well as to recover for, and to deliver over to, the owners thereof all the property which can be saved from such vessels. Her Majesty further engages to do all in her power to extend to the officers and crew, and to all other persons on board such wrecked vessels, full protection both as to their persons and as to their property.

"ARTICLE XVII.—Her Britannic Majesty and her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, being equally desirous of effecting the total abolition of the trade in slaves, her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar engages to do all in her power to prevent all such traffic on the part of her subjects, and to prohibit all persons residing within her dominions, or subject to her, from countenancing or taking any share in such trade. No persons from beyond sea shall be landed, purchased, or sold as slaves in any part of Madagascar. And her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar consents that British cruisers shall have the right of searching any Malagasy or Arab vessels suspected of being

engaged in the slave trade, whether under sail or at anchor in the waters of Madagascar. Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar further consents that if any such vessels prove to be engaged in the slave trade, such vessels and their crews shall be dealt with by the cruisers of her Britannic Majesty, as if such persons and their vessels had been engaged in a piratical undertaking.

"ARTICLE XVIII.—Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar engages to abolish trial by the ordeal of poison.

"If there should be war between Great Britain and Madagascar (which God forbid!), any prisoners who may be taken by either party shall be kindly treated, and shall be set free, either by exchange during the war, or without exchange when peace is made; and such prisoners shall not on any account be made slaves or put to death."

When I first became acquainted with the contents of this treaty, I felt grateful to the Most High for the security which it provided for the progress of the Gospel, and the unimpeded exercise of the Christian religion in the country. I felt that it was honourable on the part of the government of my own country thus to recognise the efforts of the teachers of the religion of the Bible, the source of so much that is prized in England, and to make the protection of the English missionary, and the unimpeded prosecution of his benevolent endeavours, as well as the encouragement of commerce and other efforts to promote civilisation, a condition in the treaty of friendship between the English and Malagasy. I knew that there were those who would, as far as practicable, exclude the intelligence, civilisation, and religion of other countries from Madagascar, and allow commerce only so far as it might become a source of gain; and I did not feel sure that the proposals from England would be accepted until the treaty was actually signed.

The use of the poison ordeal had been abolished by the late king, and forbidden by the present government at the revolu-

tion; and its prohibition by treaty engagement with England would prevent any party from attempting its revival, whatever changes might occur. The interests of humanity, as well as those of the English, would be promoted by the stipulation of the treaty for the just and lenient treatment of prisoners of war, and an end would be put to the barbarous cruelties which the Malagasy had been accustomed to inflict on the unhappy men who fell into their hands.

The letter which accompanied the treaty stated that Queen Victoria asked, as an expression of friendship towards herself, or words to that effect, that Queen Rasoherina would not allow the Malagasy Christians to be persecuted on account of their religion; and when I read in the third article of the treaty, as given above, the answer returned to that humane and kind request, I thanked God who had put it into the heart of our Queen, and who had disposed the Queen of Madagascar to give a reply so full of hope and blessing for her people. This event could not but increase our loyalty and affection towards our own beloved Sovereign, as well as the interest we felt in the Queen of Madagascar, of whom it is only just to say, that thus far her Majesty has faithfully kept her treaty engagement in this respect.

The guarantee of liberty of worship and teaching, as well as of security from persecution thus provided for by the treaty, produced a deep, grateful, and lasting impression on the minds of the Christians of all classes, and made them deeply anxious for the preservation of peace and friendship between Great Britain and Madagascar. Often on the Sunday I have heard, after prayer for their own sovereign and government, the prayers of the Christians offered up for Queen Victoria.

A few remarks in reference to one or two statements in the portions of the treaty above quoted are perhaps necessary to explain their meaning. The three places mentioned in Article II. to which foreigners are not admitted, are villages considered sacred, because one of the principal national idols is kept in each of them, and the presence of foreigners is said by their guardians

to be offensive to the idols; and as the life, health, and means of subsistence of the people are supposed to depend on their not offending the idols, the government are willing to tranquillize the minds of their votaries by excluding foreigners from these so-called sacred villages.

The second sentence in Article III. appears to have been thrust in between the first and third, as the beginning of the third sentence must refer to the British subjects, and not to the places of worship, and their appurtenances. This sentence was most likely introduced by the Malagasy to sustain a fiction cherished among them that all property in the country belongs to the sovereign. Its apparent operation in reference to the Memorial Churches, was removed by the following official declaration from the government, given a day or two after, signed by appointment by the high officers who had signed the treaty, and sealed also with the government seal. It was sent to me through the medium of the British consul, who attested the signatures to the document, and affixed to it the consular seal. This Document is as follows:

"In accordance with the meaning of Article III. of the English treaty (with the Malagasy), the churches to be built by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society at Faravohitra, Ambatonakanga, Ampamarinana, Ambohipotsy, and Fiadana, shall be put aside by the sovereign of Madagascar, for the teaching and worship of those missionaries, and for the Malagasy who unite in the same worship with them, and for their successors for ever. And the sovereign shall set apart and protect (those churches), and not permit them to be used for worship by persons who do not unite with them, and whose worship is not the same as the worship of those who built them.

"Nevertheless (in reference to) those churches, it shall be agreed to be said that they belong to the Sovereign of Madagascar, and the London Missionary Society shall have no claim

for repayment of the money spent, little or much, in the building of those churches, for they belong to the sovereigns in the manner above stated for ever."

RAINIMAHARAVO,
Chief Secretary of State, 16th Vtre.
ANDRIANTSITOHAINA, 16th Vtre.

I hereby certify that the above signatures are those of Rainimaharavo, 16th Honor Chief Secretary of State, and of Andriantsitohaina, 16 Honor, both members of the Hova Government.

T. C. PAKENHAM,
H. M. Consul for Madagascar.

H. B. M. CONSULATE IN MADAGASCAR,
Tananarivo, July 3rd, 1865.

No title in Madagascar is more valid than that by which the Memorial Churches will be held. Written titles do not exist, and the highest noble does not hold his own dwelling, or any of his possessions, by a title equally good. Few have any other title than the word of the sovereign, and that is understood to convey in reality only authority to occupy during the sovereign's pleasure; and even during such occupancy the sovereign is theoretically regarded as the owner of all land. There is therefore no probability that, even should the heathen party attempt to oppress the Christians, they would take from them, or injure these churches; for the heathen party appear to be sensible that

there must be no interference with the churches guaranteed by the treaty. The satisfactory conclusion of the treaty was a great relief to my own mind, and set me at liberty to prepare for my return to England. The arranging for the security of those buildings was my last public act with the government.

As I had now entered the latest month to which I could protract my stay in Antananarivo, so as to reach England before the winter, I commenced my arrangements for leaving the country. Mr. Toy, the senior missionary, who would undertake the financial business of the mission after my departure, kindly assisted me in making out the accounts for the last half year. In looking at my own personal expenditure, I noticed that although there had been no perceptible diminution of supply in the weekly or daily markets, the prices of some of the articles had slightly increased since my arrival, which, considering the influx of foreigners at times in the capital, was not surprising.

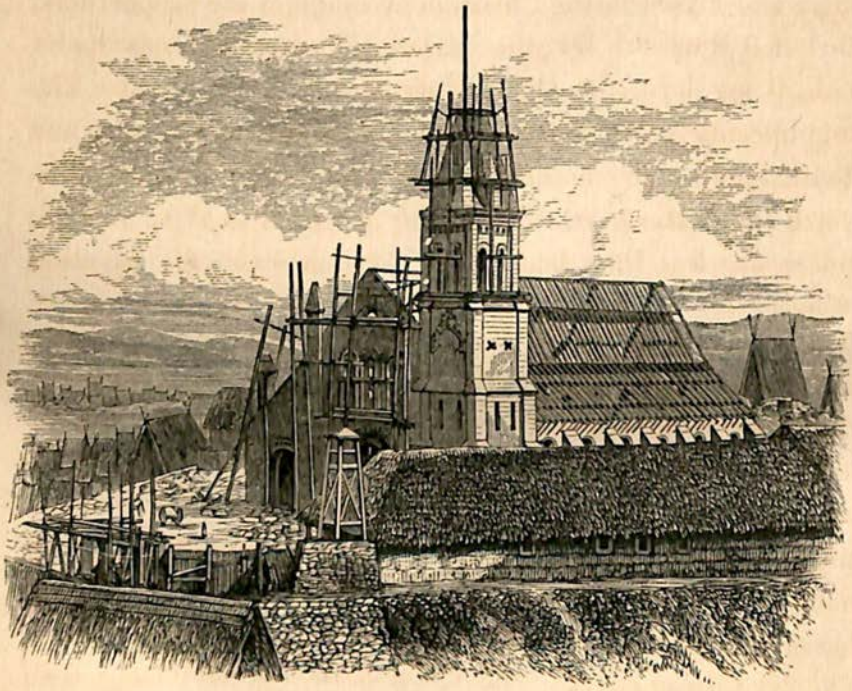
The staple meat in the Malagasy market is beef, and it is generally good. The enormously fat oxen at the market before annual feasts bring to mind the English prize-cattle shows at Christmas. The fat animals which have sometimes been fed in one stall two or more years, stand or lie in different parts of the Malagasy market, and in order to indicate to buyers where they are, a bamboo cane twelve or fifteen feet high is fixed in the ground at the place. On the top of this cane a bunch of small palm or other leaves is tied, with a ripe pine-apple fixed upright in the centre, or two or three narrow strips of silk or cloth flutter like streamers from the top of the slender cane. The price of an ox at the ports, for exportation, ranges from fifteen to eighteen dollars, but some of these oxen are sold for seventy dollars or more.

Good beef was at the time I left about 2*d.* per lb., mutton 1½*d.*, a lamb could be bought, (not indeed one like an English fed lamb,) for a shilling, and a sheep for a dollar, or 4*s.* Turkeys were 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* each; geese, 1*s.*; fowls, and ducks generally 6*d.* each; eggs, 2*d.* or 3*d.* a dozen. Irish potatoes 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* per peck, and

rice 4*s.* or 5*s.* a bushel. Fish was neither plentiful nor very good, with the exception of eels, which were frequently brought to market in the rainy season, and were sometimes very large. Milk could be obtained at about 2*d.* a pint, and occasionally a small quantity of sweet fresh butter at about 2*s.* per lb. Sometimes also excellent honey could be bought. Fuel for cooking cost about 2*s.* a week, and lamp oil not quite half that sum. Manioc, garlick of a mild kind, and sometimes onions were seen in the daily market, as well as sweet potatoes, French beans used dry, maize, pumpkins, occasionally cabbage, and a few green peas. Native grown coffee is good, and sugar capable of great improvement in the making. Among the fruits are bananas, pine apples, oranges, limes, lemons, occasionally grapes, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches rather woody in quality, but abundant and cheap (from January to April), loquat and pistache nuts, as well as occasionally smaller fruits.

Servants are hired by the month at about 5*s.* per month, with their rice, usually costing the same sum. The most expensive articles in housekeeping are groceries and flour, which must be imported, and the cost of which is greatly enhanced by the expenses of transport. A single bearer's load is 40 lbs. or 50 lbs., and the cost is about 12*s.* from the coast to the capital. Skilled labour, such as that of carpenters or masons, costs 6*d.* a day, ordinary labour, 4*d.* Palanquin bearers for the day usually receive 6*d.* As a rule perhaps the natives ask more from a foreigner than from their own countrymen; but to those who understand their language, and have any knowledge of the value of what they are buying, they are neither difficult nor unpleasant to deal with.

In my last visit to Ambohipotsy, I was again impressed with the excellent site it afforded for the Memorial Church to be erected. The situation is one of the finest I have seen in Madagascar. It commands the most varied and extensive prospect on three sides of the city, and the Memorial Church, besides being the first object in the capital that will meet the eye of the tra-



Photographed by J. Cameron. Temporary Carpenters' Shed. Page 491.

MEMORIAL CHURCH AT AMBATONAKANGA.

First Stone Church in Madagascar. J. Sibree, Jun., architect.

veller from the coast, will be visible from a great distance in every direction.

On the first Sunday in July I administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper for the last time at Ambatonakanga, and at a subsequent meeting took leave of the church and congregation with mutual prayers and much kindly feeling. Mr. George Cousins had been for some time closely associated with Ratsitaingia and myself in the Christian oversight of the people there, and I felt grateful for the favourable circumstances under which, at my departure, the Christians would be placed. The communicants on my arrival amounted to seventy-six; and notwithstanding the numbers who had gone from us to help to form other city churches, they had increased to 279; and this increase was less than had taken place in some of the other churches.

The Christians at Ambatonakanga sent me an affectionate letter before my departure, as did some of the village churches, and many of the Christian families. The queen and some of the nobles sent me valuable presents of lambas, and other Malagasy fabrics, as tokens of their good will; nor did the Christians forget small articles of tasteful jewellery, and other productions of their own skill, as remembrances in days to come of the intercourse that was now about to close.

On the 15th of July, I went to the palace in compliance with the wishes of the queen, to take leave, and received, in presence of the court, the expression of her majesty's regret at my departure, and of her good wishes for myself and family. The prime minister also, of whom I had taken leave, sent me a letter expressive of the queen's satisfaction with my conduct in all my transactions with the government. On that same day, which was Saturday, I applied for my passport, which I received on the Monday, on which day Mr. Poole, who had been sent to assist in building the Memorial Churches, having just arrived, met Mr. Cameron, Mr. Sibree, and myself, to consult upon the best way of carrying forward that work, when it appeared

that it would be most advantageous for Mr. Cameron to assist Mr. Sibree in finishing the church then in hand at Ambatonakanga, for Mr. Poole to commence one at the south part of the capital, and for Mr. Cameron to build the children's church at Faravohitra at the north. The accompanying view of the church at Ambatonakanga was taken some months after my departure, before the roof was on or the spire finished; both have since been completed and the carpenter's shed removed.

My packages were all sent off during the forenoon of the next day, and about two o'clock, on the 18th of July, I left Antananarivo. The Christians had arranged to meet me at the first village on the road, and just beyond Faliarivo, at the foot of the hill, I found a large number assembled awaiting my arrival. I addressed a few words of encouragement to them, and exhorted them to live near to Christ. We then sang a hymn. After which my native co-pastor very affectionately took leave of me in the name of the Church and people, and we united in prayer, when, in very appropriate and feeling terms, he commended me and those whom I left to the care and blessing of our Heavenly Father. There were a number of the widows and orphans of the martyrs present in that Christian company, from all of whom I had received sincere and invariable kindness. Ratsitaingia then asked me to accept from the Church a silk lamba for Mrs. Ellis as an expression of their interest in her welfare, and something by which she might remember them. I gratefully accepted their present, and taking leave of them, and the missionary brethren who were with them, pursued my way.

About a mile further on the road, I found the rest of the missionaries, from whom I parted with fervent desires that the blessing of the Most High might be with them. One of Mr. Toy's pupils, the son of the first Radama's sister, here took the ring off his hand and begged my acceptance of it, and then leaving me they returned to the city. Rainivelo, my landlord, accompanied me to Ambatomanga, sixteen or eighteen miles on

the road, where I proposed to halt for the night, and whither I found that his wife and three of his children had gone on before us, so that lodgings and refreshment were already provided.

Early on the morning after my arrival at Ambatomanga, two Christian women came from the small congregation at Betafo, several miles to the north, to take leave of me, and to offer a couple of neat little baskets for Mrs. Ellis. The mist was dense and cold when we set out, but the morning gradually became clearer, and we journeyed through the day to Ambodinangavo, where we halted for the night. My friends, who owned several villages between our last resting place and Moramanga, which they proposed to visit with their children, accompanied me to the furthest of these, when I took leave of them, and pursued my way, reaching Tamatave on the tenth day after leaving the capital.

On the Sunday I preached to the Hova congregation in the village, and was pleased with what I saw of the progress of the Church of England Missionaries there. Embarking in the Jessie Byrne, I bade farewell to Madagascar on the 3rd of August, and after an unpleasant and tedious passage of twenty-one days reached Mauritius, where I received many kind attentions, and much hospitality from Sir Henry and Lady Barkly, Messrs. Ireland, Frazer and Co., and many former friends. On the 8th of September I went on board the English packet Sultan, Captain Curling, landed at Suez, passed through Egypt, embarked at Alexandria, and reached Southampton safely on the 14th of October, whence I hastened home, grateful for the watchful protection and care which had brought me safely to my native land, and allowed me to find all at home peaceful and well.

STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE events which occurred in Madagascar during my last sojourn in that island, and the changes which followed, have been as unprecedented as they were remarkable; and they seem to suggest the desirableness of a brief notice of the condition of the people at the close of that period, as compared with its commencement, more particularly as affecting their relations with other nations, and their own political, social, and religious condition.

Notwithstanding some appearances to the contrary, the position of the people is, in my opinion, on the whole, in advance of that which they occupied at the time of my last arrival amongst them. I then found entrance to the country, acquisition of land, residence and exploration unimpeded; trade was exempt from all imposts, and the whole question of foreign relations was subject only to such rules and limitations as the newcomers imposed upon themselves. And this was what the king's instructors and advisers had most erroneously inculcated as free trade—the source of individual prosperity, and the bond of brotherhood among nations.

Such a state of things could not last. The abolition of all duties deprived the government of its revenue, and the officers of their pay; encouraged a larger importation of goods than the community could receive, or pay for; and by inundating the country with rum, was forcing on the utter demoralization and ruin of all classes. This made the heavy duties imposed on the latter article, after the revolution, a great blessing to the people.

The present law in respect to the holding of land operates against the settlement of foreigners in the country, and it is a retrograde movement; but, considering the fears of the people, and their present repugnance to foreigners becoming owners of the land, which has always been associated in their minds with

the establishment of authority independent of their own; and, considering also, the penalty they have had to pay in the case of M. Lambert, intercourse is now as free as, under existing circumstances, is perhaps compatible with the security of the present government, and the peace of the country.

The recently concluded treaty with England, although it does not provide for foreigners becoming proprietors of the land, guarantees the protection and encouragement of legitimate commerce, which may be expected to increase, though according to the annexed statement the exports from Mauritius to Madagascar appear to have decreased since the year of my last arrival.

	£	s.	d.
The Exports from Mauritius to Madagascar, in 1862, amounted to	57,714	19	10
„ „ „ in 1864 „	32,731	15	3
The Imports to Mauritius from Madagascar, in 1862 „	70,707	6	9
„ „ „ in 1864 „	72,677	0	9
The number of Oxen from Madagascar in 1862, 10,891, of the value of	56,124	0	9
The number of Oxen from Madagascar in 1864, 10,176, of the value of	50,661	0	9
The quantity of Rice imported from Madagascar in 1862, 20,675 cwt. 25 lbs., of the value of	8,868	9	5
The quantity of Rice imported from Madagascar in 1864, 20,633 cwt. $\frac{123}{134}$ bags, of the value of	12,511	17	0

The commerce with Reunion has probably experienced a similar variation, and besides trade with these ports, ships have occasionally come from the Cape, and in a few instances from Europe. Though the use of European clothing is discouraged by the present government, the people are advancing in civilisation, and this, so far as their means allow, will increase the commerce of the country, and commerce and civilisation acting and reacting on each other, will promote the welfare of the people.

In the present state of the country this improvement must for several reasons be comparatively slow. Slavery, even in its mildest forms, by depriving a large portion of the community

of all care for anything beyond the supply of their own daily wants, and also by affixing a stigma on all personal labour, is unfriendly to industry and commerce, as is also the large amount of unproductive attendance of the officers, and of labour required from the non-military portions of the community who are free. The members of the government appear anxious to obtain for themselves the profits of trade, to which there can be no objection; but they have perhaps yet to learn that they may increase their own personal wealth without benefiting the nation thereby—that a government is in reality only popular, and strong, so far as the people are prosperous; and that a community is only prosperous where individual industry and enterprise are free, and their legitimate fruits enjoyed by those by whom they have been produced. Nor have they yet perceived, that only so far as such prosperity prevails in the country can its foreign trade advantageously increase.

The changes in the government of Madagascar have been great, and, with the exception of the increase of the army, to which it is reported that 17,000 men were added last year, and for which the government may have good reasons, these changes appear to have been beneficial. The continued prohibition of the ordeal of the Tangena,* which was abolished by the late king, is a decision favourable to the interests of justice and humanity. The associating even in theory, if it be not fully carried out, of other members of the community with the sove-

* Persons accused or suspected of crimes were often required to drink this poison, as a means of showing their guilt or innocence. If the sign of innocence did not appear, they were put to death on the spot with great barbarity. If they died under the poison—no unfrequent occurrence—that was considered proof of their guilt. Nothing could be more utterly fallacious as a means of proving innocence or guilt, nor afford a more convenient mode of destroying life by poisoning an enemy. Yet it was part of their system of belief, as well as of their machinery of government, and, when heathenism was supreme, this trial was sometimes demanded by accused or suspected persons as a means of demonstrating innocence. As part of the system which the heathens now endeavour to maintain, it is still desired, and I have heard the government publicly asked to re-establish it in the land.

reign in the framing of laws, and the inflicting of death and other severe punishments, and perhaps a slight diminution of the unpaid government work, are all steps in advance, although they may not have been firmly taken, nor steadily maintained.

Incipient signs of public opinion are appearing amongst the people; and the growth of intelligence, and commercial, and other relations with enlightened countries, will increase its influence. The one great want of the Malagasy government ever since I have known it has been that of an intelligent, able, upright, honest adviser—not the agent of a foreign government, though a gentleman holding such an appointment might be true to his own government and yet render most important service to the Malagasy, as in the case of Mr. Hastie, the British agent at the court of Radama the First. The agent of one government could not, however, now act as counsellor to the Malagasy without exciting the fears of the subjects of other governments respecting his impartiality, and the native government would be too likely to associate the reception of his advice with the favour of his government, and their rejection of his counsel with its displeasure. The friend they most need is a gentleman who would give them the benefit of his intelligence and experience in wise, sound, and disinterested advice, and identify himself with them with a view to helping them forward in their difficult way—a man whose uprightness and worth of character would inspire their confidence and esteem, and who would be to them, in relation to their national and political interests, what the Christian missionary is in relation to their religious progress.

How darkening to the mind, and destructive to all humane feeling, the native superstitions were which underlaid and pervaded the public and individual life of the nation, may be inferred from the opinions and feelings still cherished in reference to the Tangena as above described. The heathenism of Madagascar is antagonistic to all that is foreign, and consequently incapable of enlightenment from commerce. It has

opposed all ideas excepting such as germinated within its own obscure and confined circle of thought—a dreary region of night which admitted of no dawn. Education is co-extensive with Christianity, but is excluded from heathenism: to be able to read is regarded as a mark of sincerity in the Christian, but of incipient apostacy in the heathen.

This idolatry existed at the time of my arrival unaltered in itself, but unable any longer to persecute, its high prestige was lowered, its power was a thing of the past, and it stood alone in its own weakness, unable to inspire reverence or trust. In reference to idolatry, I witnessed a great change. It had been again obtruded upon public notice, its symbols carried forth to places of public resort, and its servants encouraged and patronised in high places. Restored in some respects outwardly to its high position, it had been admitted to the palace, and publicly honoured by the sovereign. But even that change I did not, and do not, deem unfavourable to the highest interests of this infant nation, so long as heathenism can only repeat voices heard from the spirit world, and is not allowed to enforce its claims by the secular arm, and can employ no other force than its own influence over the minds of its votaries. It appeared to me better for both Christian and heathen that heathenism should have perfect freedom of action, and continue to be recognised as the religious system of a portion of the people, so long as it was able to maintain its hold on their minds, than that it should have been suppressed by royal edict, or even discontinued by public kabary.

The Christianity of Madagascar will be of a higher order, and a sounder quality, from its adherents having to win their way, and hold every inch they gain in contact, or even in conflict with all the objections which idolatry can urge against its claims, than if it had been received in obedience to a sovereign's word, or established by government orders. I never desired for the Malagasy Church conversions that did not spring from convictions, nor professions of Christianity that were not based on

experience of its truth. Among a people circumstanced as the Malagasy are, where all have equal liberty and protection, I do not fear any injury which heathenism can inflict on Christianity so long as no other means are employed than the zeal and devotedness which its own principles inspire and sustain in the hearts of its votaries.

This opinion is justified by the state of things in Madagascar at the present time, where, notwithstanding the public recognition and encouragement which heathenism receives, there is no reason to believe that its adherents have increased, or that it has gained any firmer hold on the attachment and confidence of the people than before the revolution. To me it appears rather that the restlessness of the votaries of the idols, the spasmodic attempts which they make ever and anon to attract notice, and the rumours of projects in favour of heathenism, are indications of a consciousness on the part of its adherents that its power is departing, and that it has no influence over those who constitute the hope of the country. The manifest intelligence, character, and energy of the Christians, as well as the teachings of the Gospel, are drawing into union with them the youth of the middle and upper classes, at least in the central and ruling province. Christianity is doing this by the knowledge it conveys, the convictions which it lodges in the understanding, and the truth and directness with which it speaks to the conscience and the inner life. There is also a neutral party in Madagascar, men on whose minds heathenism has lost its hold, but who have not accepted Christianity. These, as well as many of the heathen, admit that Christians are better members of society and more trustworthy than the heathen; hence so many of the former are selected in spite of their creed, but in virtue of their character, to fill important offices of trust.

It is doubtless trying to the Christians to be confronted by heathenism at every turn, to meet and mingle with it in every walk of life, as well as to have to maintain a ceaseless strife

against the evil of their own hearts; but I believe that the Christianity of Madagascar will be more intelligent, pure, and strong, better developed, and more prolific in all that is good and true, by having to test, and try, in contact with idolatry, the strength of its principles, and the vitality of its faith, than it would have been had there been what is called a national conversion, and a general acceptance of Christianity.

The missionaries feel that on the issue of this conflict the future of Madagascar depends. Hence their aim to make the grand lineaments of Christianity as presented in the Holy Scriptures, the one chief subject of their teaching, employing education, with all other auxiliaries in furtherance of this, and allowing nothing to diminish or weaken the influence of this teaching on the minds of the people. The present is perhaps the most critical period that has ever occurred in the existence of this people; and grateful as the missionaries feel for the liberty and privileges which the present government affords, they cannot forget that changes are not unknown in Madagascar. Though Christians are now included in the families of all the members of the government, but few of those in whose hands the ruling power actually rests are Christians; and even in relation to the population of the capital, but especially to that of the provinces, the Christians are only a small minority, and could not physically maintain their position should persecution again arise.

Should Christianity still extend, and ultimately bring under its influence the leading classes in the country, the Malagasy race may yet be preserved, and obtain a name and a place among the nations; but should the religion of the Bible be again proscribed, and driven to the caverns, or the desert, and the Malagasy become subject to the influences for evil, which, in their present condition, would then be brought to bear upon them; and should ignorance, and vice, and the folly and weakness which are their natural fruits prevail, the people will gradually, and surely melt away, and their final subjection and extinction

will become only a question of time. My own opinion is, that nothing, humanly speaking, but the moral energy and vital stamina of Christianity can, in their present contact with more advanced races, preserve them from destruction. The Supreme Ruler appears, by sending His Gospel among them, to be giving them another trial, a fresh opportunity of entering upon that course of intelligence, activity, and virtue, which is the path of natural life to communities, as the way of holiness, love, and faith is the path of spiritual life to individuals. To point out that blessed way, to induce them to enter it, to lead them along step by step in it until they become strong in that faith which, working by love, purifies the heart, overcomes the world, and saves the soul, is the great aim of all rightly directed missionary effort.

But while seeking, and with God's blessing accomplishing this, the gospel which the missionary teaches enhances the enjoyment of every earthly blessing, and saves for the present life, as well as for that which is to come.

No one who has felt the least interest in the deeply affecting changes among the Malagasy, which are attempted to be set forth in these pages, can feel unconcerned about the prospects of that interesting people. No event in their past existence has been so remarkable as the recent progress of Christianity amongst them. The number of its adherents at the time of my arrival has been already stated.* They amounted to about 7000 in the capital, and the villages, with 400 communicants. The latest statistics show their total number to be about 18,000, with 4374 communicants, more than half of whom are connected with the churches in the capital. These numbers represent the Christians united in seventy-nine churches, within a radius of about twenty miles from the capital, and they are under the spiritual care of seven English missionaries and ninety-five native pastors and teachers.

Thus it appears that in four years the number of Christians has been more than doubled, and that the proportion of com-

* Page 129.

municants has increased more than tenfold. Only a small proportion of those united to the Christians in the capital are either aged or very young persons. Most of them are verging towards manhood or middle age. These remarkable and gratifying results are some of the answers to the many fervent prayers that have been offered for the people, the fruits of Christian philanthropy, and constitute the best foundations of hope for Madagascar.

Besides the efforts above specified, others have been put forth; and although we have yet only twenty schools in Madagascar, this department of our work is about to be ably reinforced. Additional books in the native language have been prepared, and printed at the mission press, whence we expect a supply for the increasing demands which extended education will create; and already ten thousand copies of the New Testament, and a generous supply of Malagasy Bibles, together with separate portions of the Scriptures from the British and Foreign Bible Society, have proved an incalculable benefit to the Christians in that country.

Such are some of the means by which this interesting people have, with God's blessing, attained their present position, and it is on the vigorous and persevering use of these and other instrumentalities employed without interruption on their behalf, that we build our hopes of their preservation, and their happiness in this life, and in that which is to come.

A distinguished French envoy is now at the capital negotiating a treaty on behalf of France. The Malagasy government are reported to be willing to enter into the same arrangements with France as they have done with England; and it is to be hoped that these will be approved, and the country remain at rest.

THE END.

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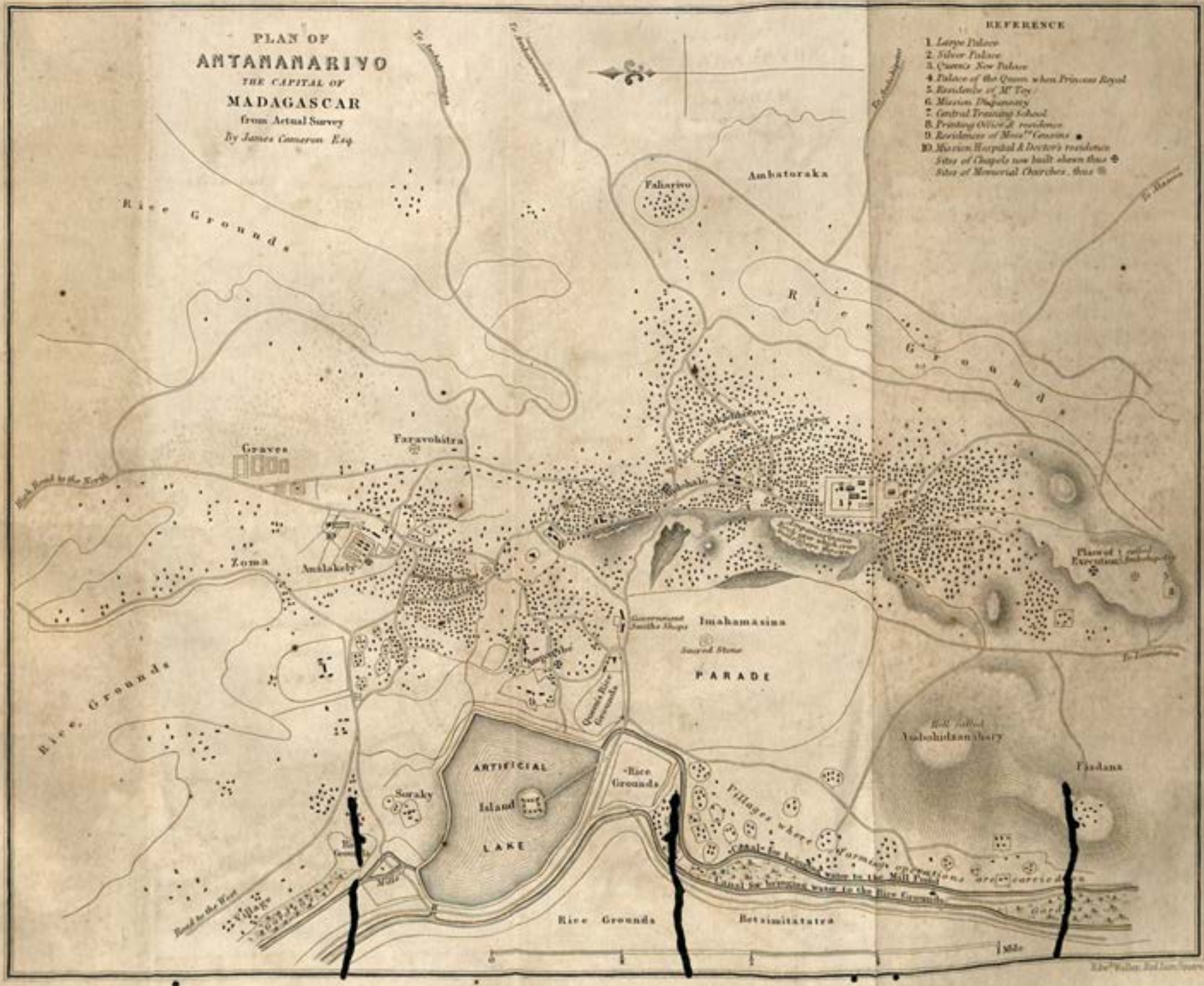
PLAN OF
ANTANANARIVO
THE CAPITAL OF
MADAGASCAR
from Actual Survey
By James Cameron Esq.
REFERENCE
1. Large Palace
2. Silver Palace
3. Queens New Palace
4. Palace of the Queen when Princess Royal
5. Residence of Mr Toy
6. Mission Dispensary
7. Central Training School
8. Printing Office & residence
9. Residences of Messrs Cousins
10. Mission Hospital & Doctor's residence
Sites of Chapels now built shewn thus
Sites of Memorial Churches, thus
Ambatoraka
Faharivo
Rice Grounds
Graves
Faravohitra
Zoma
Analakely
Imahamasina
Sacred Stone
PARADE
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